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Document portant sur les valeurs enseignées dans le système public d'enseignement protestant au Québec. Après un rappel des origines de cet enseignement et de son développement entre 1875 et 1975, le document retrace les sources des valeurs sur lesquelles il se fonde. Les autres chapitres présentent la réglementation du Comité protestant, les principes de confessionnalité qui l'inspirent et les programmes d'éducation morale et religieuse autorisés par le Comité.

Considérant le document "L'école québécoise: énoncé de politique et plan d'action", le Comité protestant apprécie la place qu'il accorde aux valeurs, situe l'école protestante dans ce cadre, mais émet des réserves à propos d'un système d'écoles non-confessionnelles qui offrirait "selon l'adhésion religieuse personnelle des élèves, un enseignement religieux d'une ou de plusieurs confessions chrétiennes, ou encore, d'une confession non chrétienne". Finalement, le Comité protestant établit une liste de priorités: l'élaboration de mécanismes de consultation, la formation des enseignants et le rôle que peut jouer le Comité pour assurer la qualité de la formation morale et religieuse.

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Gouvernement du Québec
Conseil supérieur de l'éducation
Comité protestant

Quest for Quality in the Protestant Public Schools of Québec

Nathan H. Mair

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CENTRE DE DOCUMENTATION
DU SECTEUR PLANIFICATION
MINISTÈRE DE L'ÉDUCATION

Protestant public schools in Quebec have been providing education for the children of Protestant taxpayers for over 200 years. The Quebec Education Act of 1846 provided the legislative base upon which the present structure of Protestant education still rests. Since that time an enormous amount of work and money has been provided to build and maintain school buildings and to ensure our children a quality education.

Many influences have shaped the character of Protestant education in the past 133 years. From its beginning Protestant education was multi-confessional, a true reflection of the multi-denominational nature of the Protestant population. The predominance of the English language among Protestants, the influx of Loyalists from the United States, and the later welcoming of large numbers of immigrants, many of whom were non-Protestant in the traditional sense, and the preponderance of Roman Catholics in Quebec, have all contributed significantly to the unique character of Protestant education.

For several years now the Comité protestant of the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation, charged with the responsibility of maintaining the Protestant character of all schools duly recognized as Protestant, has pursued a course of reflection upon the nature of Protestant education. In March 1978 we commissioned Dr. Nathan H. Mair to do a long-overdue documentation and description of the development of Protestant education in Quebec in its many aspects. We are now pleased to present his study to you as a contribution to the task of defining the role of Protestant education in Quebec.

The time has come to restate with confidence, and to reformulate, where necessary, the Quebec Protestant understanding of the role of the school and the values which we want it to transmit. These fundamental questions about our school system are being asked more often and with greater concern in the public place.

The Quebec confessional system of public education is grounded in the conviction that it is the responsibility of the broader educational community to identify and transmit the cultural, ethical and religious values of the population it serves.

This document is addressed to all who are interested in sharing in the difficult but exciting task of defining and shaping Protestant education for future generations. This is our responsibility. Failure to meet this challenge will mean that others will do it for us!

Garth E. Bulmer, Chairman

Comité protestant Conseil supérieur de l'éducation

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CHAPTER ONE

THE QUESTION OF QUALITY

The demand for quality in the education of "the rising generation" is not new. Cotton Mather called for it in 1699 on behalf of the children of New England.[1] Milton, Comenius, Locke, Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Spencer, Herbart, Dewey and Illich (to mention only some "moderns") have done the same for their generations. But standards of quality in education are not noted for their precision or consistency; what one group or epoch has termed "quality", another has derided. Sometimes, too, the word has been used as a slogan, intentionally undefined, so as to unify persons with very diverse criticisms in an attack upon the **status quo.** Yet education has made its advances (assuming that "progress" has indeed taken place) in the light of the truths projected by its critics. That such truths have usually been expressed in opposition to established norms is testimony, perhaps, to the fundamentally dialectical character of thought and history. The form of man's ideas and systems is never able to express the whole truth: corrections are always needed.

Again in Quebec, calls for increased attention to quality in education are being heard. The 1978 annual conference of the Quebec Home and School Associations took as its theme: "Quality of Learning — Quality of Life." Workshops in diverse areas of concern explored the meanings and implications of the theme. **The Green Paper: Primary and Secondary Education in Quebec** issued by the ministère de l'Education in 1977 stated:

> School reform in Quebec was carried out under conditions of urgency in order to achieve one of the major objectives of the Quiet Revolution, a secondary school education for all young Quebecers... What is required now is second wage of school reform directed towards the concept of quality...[2]

Quality in education has been described by the **Green Paper** and by the 1979 **L'école Québécoise: Enoncé de politique et plan d'action**[3] of the ministère de l'Education not so much in terms of school plants and equipment (a pre-occupation of the mid-century with its expanding school population) but in relation to the pedagogical process.

But "quality" is defined diversely by individuals and groups in the Province. The back-to-the-basics movement interprets it in terms of a higher standard of competence in the skills of "readin', 'ritin' 'n' 'rithmetic" (and some add a fourth "r", "responsibility") with less emphasis upon the "frills" whether in equipment or in the curriculum. Some university and CEGEP authorities ask for more intellectual rigour in the high schools so that students are better prepared to follow advanced humanistic or scientific studies. Industry has signalled its need of personnel with improved, more extensive, and more modern technical education. Certain educators describe advance in quality in terms of greater opportunities for individual development, the employment of "activist" methods, and a new conception of the relationship between teacher and pupil (the teacher being regarded as a resource and guide to the student's self-initiated learning plan). The present dramatic decline in the numbers of pupils of school age is cited in many an educator's speech as an opportunity for such an advance in quality.

Another approach to the question of quality in Quebec education today is being taken by those who propose that more emphasis be given to education in values. It is held that the values taught in the schools, as well as in the homes, are too often superficial; there is little rootage made in the traditional norms of self-discipline, respect for authority, and social responsibility. The school tends to mirror society's values, rather than giving leadership, so that young people have little support to help them resist the lure of passing fads and cheap philosophies and styles of life. These critics have sought to encourage an emphasis on the character-building aim of education as over against mere skill training or mastering of bodies of information. The Comité protestant of the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation stated in its 1972-73 report to the Conseil Supérieur its view that education in Protestant schools should reflect the principal Protestant concerns such as respect for the convictions of others, the search for truth in a spirit of liberty, reflection on the meaning of life and its religious dimension, and grounding in the Jewish-Christian and humanist traditions.[4] **The Report of the Social Values Commission** of the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal in 1971 suggested as desired attributes of any school system: the awareness of the importance of the individual, sensitivity and responsibility toward society's and the local community's needs, efficiency, and the critical spirit. The same report emphasized the necessity of instilling in pupils a love of excellence.[5]

We are well beyond the time, however, when such lists of virtues and moral principles are sufficient in themselves to give the needed direction to education in values. The problem lies at a deeper level. While few citizens would wish to surrender the benefits which the modern age has brought in terms of scientific knowledge and technical know-how, yet there is, in the opinion of many, a deep unrest and malaise in current Western society. Standards of behaviour, moral ideals and principles, and canons of thinking which prevailed for generations seem now to have lost their power to hold the allegiance of the young. The religious convictions which underlay sexual mores, for instance, have been questioned, and largely abandoned by many. The same may be true of such time-honoured ideals as self-discipline; respect for authority, and for the persons and property of others; the necessity and value of hard work; and the readiness to undergo inconvenience or pain in the pursuit of the common good.

Some commentators interpret the breakdown of the old moral standards as an indication of the transitional character of the historical period in which we live. The theologian Paul Tillich, for example, spoke of "the end of the Protestant era".[6] Wilfrid Cantwell Smith, the much-respected proponent of the study of world religions, believes that the Western world has deified certain "scientific" norms of thought, and has overlooked fundamental human truths which are not amenable to such analyses.[7] This has led to persons being treated as "things." Young people experience their schooling as impersonal and unrelated to their perceived needs. The Canadian futurist, Ruben Nelson, thinks that we are now rapidly shedding the mechanistic thought-patterns which have dominated the way we have analysed problems and that our greatest need in this period of transition is to find the means to live with ambiguity:

> An ambiguous world... is a world in which the prime demand is not that one knows one's place and stays in it, but that those in the world acknowledge the ambiguity and understand the importance of talking with each other about those things they hold most dear, so that they can decide together what it is they are trying to do on the face of this earth.[8]

Major social changes are not notably amenable to deflection by human engineering. They are produced by powerful forces which are beyond man's capacity either to fully understand or predict. Thus also, new value-patterns are not created by the waving of some magic wand; nor are old, but dormant, values easily resurrected. Yet there are ways in which things are made different because of the intervention, at the appropriate time, of concerned persons.

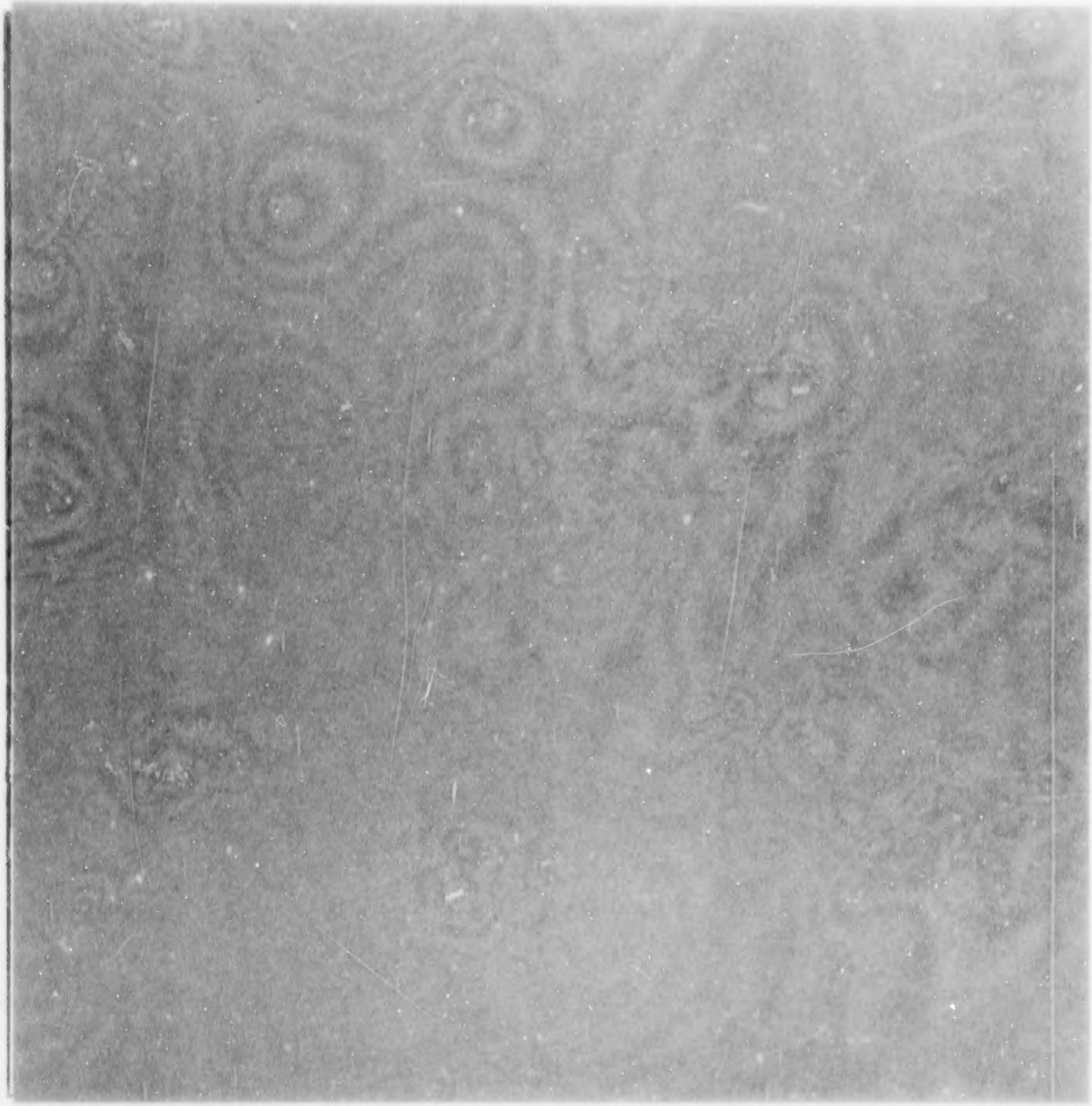
Protestant schools in Quebec have before them in the 1980s a challenge and an opportunity. The coming generation are to be helped to participate in the emerging world in ways which will build a better society than that we now have. They must, it appears, learn to live creatively in an ambiguous situation; to employ both reason and imagination in the solving of problems; to address themselves effectively to global concerns; to find a personal wisdom that will enable them to discriminate among the competing ideologies of our time; and, as a basis for all of these, to discern the grounds on which their commitments may be made. This is, admittedly, "a tall order!"

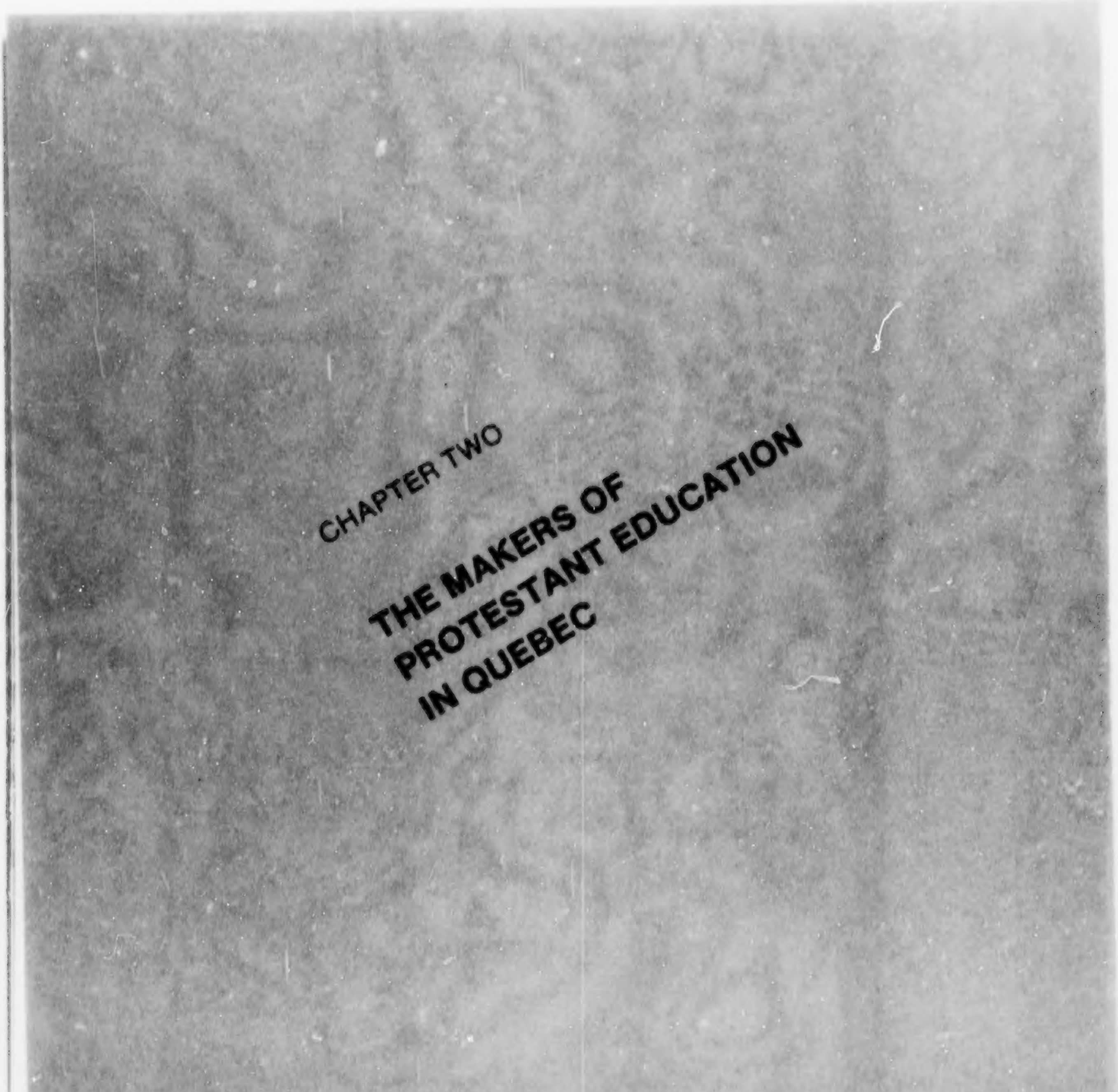
Related also to this recovery of depth in education is the need for Canadians, and perhaps Quebecers in particular, at this crucial time in our history, to become aware of the forces, decisions, and events in the past which created our present institutions. In doing this we may come into closer touch with the sources of belief which have energized our values, and discover what lively new shapes our oldest and deepest convictions may now take.

The ministère de l'Éducation's **Plan d'Action** states that "préciser les finalités de l'éducation, c'est décrire quel type d'homme et de femme est souhaitable pour notre société."[9] In the same vein, the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation du Québec observed in 1970 that a philosophy of the nature and purpose of human existence underlies all educational activity, whether teachers and administrators are explicit about it or not.[10] The Conseil suggested that this basic philosophy should be uncovered and stated openly. If, as now seems likely, parents in the future will have to choose among Catholic, Protestant, and non-confessional schools or classes for their children, it is all the more important that schools should be clear about the values they espouse and about the provisions they make for the moral and religious dimensions of education. Parents will also have an important place in determining the confessional status of the local school since Quebec school law requires that parents be consulted on policy and institutes school committees for each school and parents' committees at the school board level for this purpose. Further development of the decision-making power of parents is projected in the **Plan d'Action**.

There may not be easy agreement among educators and parents as to what values may or must be taught in schools, but such discussions, by facing important life issues rather than avoiding the controversial or difficult, may give depth to the ongoing education of Quebec's people whether they are pupils, educators, parents or other citizens.

The first chapters of this work will seek to give an account of the values traditionally held by the Protestant schools of Quebec, and to clarify some of the sources of these values in Protestant beliefs. Later chapters will explore the rationale for confessionality in Protestant education in Quebec and then describe the policies of the Comité protestant and the programmes of moral and religious education authorized by the Comité.





CHAPTER TWO

THE MAKERS OF PROTESTANT EDUCATION IN QUEBEC

On July 1, 1867, the Act which created the Canadian confederation was formally proclaimed. The terms of the legislation had been much discussed during the preceding years. Of particular importance had been the creation of a formula to govern the diverse interests with respect to education. Section ninety-three of the British North America Act accordingly stipulated that provinces were to have full power to make their own laws governing education, but as a safeguard for the religious minority in each province it was provided that:

> (1) Nothing in any such Law shall prejudicially affect any Right or Privilege with respect to Denominational Schools which any Class of Persons have by Law in the Province at the Union;
>
> (2) All the Powers, Privileges, and Duties at the Union by Law conferred and imposed in Upper Canada on the Separate Schools and School Trustees of the Queen's Roman Catholic Subjects shall be and the same are hereby extended to the Dissentient Schools of the Queen's Protestant and Roman Catholic Subjects in Quebec;
>
> (3) Where in any Province a System of Separate or Dissentient Schools exists by Law at the Union or is thereafter established by the Legislature of the Province, an Appeal shall lie to the Governor General in Council from any Act or Decision of any Provincial Authority affecting any Right or Privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic Minority of the Queen's subjects in relation to Education;
>
> (4) In case any such Provincial Law as from Time to Time seems to the Governor General in Council requisite for the due Execution of the Provisions of this Section is not made, or in case any Decision of the Governor General in Council on any Appeal under this Section is not duly executed by the proper Provincial Authority in that Behalf, then and in every such Case, and as far only as the Circumstances of each Case require, the Parliament of Canada may make remedial Laws for the due Execution of the Provisions of this Section and of any Decision of the Governor General in Council under this section.[1]

The much-quoted clauses of Section 93 of the B.N.A. Act continue to set some parameters for education in Canada, and are of no small interest today to Quebec Protestants. But what was meant by "denominational" and "dissentient" schools in the language of the Act? Who were the "class of persons" referred to as "Protestant"? What were the "right" or "privileges" they possessed "by law"? What was it they wanted to preserve in their schools? What values did they espouse? These are some of the questions that call for an historical account of Protestant education in Quebec.

A. THE ORIGINS OF QUEBEC PROTESTANTS

A notable feature of the "class of persons" referred to as "Protestant" by the B.N.A. Act was their diversity. They were English, French, Scottish, Irish, American, Swiss, Indian, Eskimo (perhaps), and, no doubt, other nationalities as well. Religiously they were Anglican, Réformée, Presbyterian of several varieties, Methodist (Wesleyan and American types), Congregational, Baptist, and Universalist. Memories of religious strife among some of these groups were still fresh, and they believed themselves to represent different opinions about what ought to be considered important in life, religion, and education. In the history of Quebec Protestant education certain value differences must thus be noted among settlers of French, British and American origins in particular.

1. **The French.** — These Protestants were not great in numbers at the time of Confederation, but theirs was a tradition which went back in Quebec history to the settlement of Tadoussac in the late sixteenth century. Protestants, traders and settlers, were among the chief organizers of New France. Even after professing Huguenots were excluded from the colony (from 1627) the Protestant cause did not entirely die out.[2] French Protestant merchants were reported as present at the first Protestant church service in Quebec after the conquest.[3] Included in the "observations" made by the military authority of Quebec in the Standing Orders of November, 1759, was one that urged respect for the religious conscience of the Canadian population, and another which suggested the desirability of French-speaking pastors being sent to Canada, and the possibility of Quebec's being used as a haven for Frenchmen of Protestant persuasion.[4] By 1766 three francophone clergymen were serving Protestant churches in Quebec: L.J.B.N. Veyssière in Three Rivers, D.F. de Montmollin in Quebec City, and David Chabrand Delisle in Montreal.

In 1835 the Swiss Protestant missionaries, Madame Feller and Louis Roussy, immigrated to Canada and established themselves at Grande Ligne. They were followed through the years by Amaron, Duclos, Tanner, Coussirat, and others whose names are remembered still by French Protestants. Congregations were organized in different sections of the province. In 1839 the French-Canadian Missionary Society, a non-denominational, largely lay-controlled, organization was created by Montreal Protestants to sponsor the work, but gave it up to the churches shortly after Confederation. Residential schools for French Protestant children at that time included l'Institut Feller at Grande Ligne (Baptist), Le Collège de Sabrevois (Anglican), L'Institut Evangélique at Pointe-aux-Trembles (Presbyterian), and L'Institut Méthodiste at Westmount. There were also public schools in the province, at Roxton Pond (Ste-Pudentienne) for instance, where small groups of French Protestants attended classes with French Catholic or English Protestant children.

Taught as they were by leaders in their congregations steeped in the Reformed Protestant tradition, it may be assumed that, to a greater or a less degree, French Protestants of Quebec shared values which derived from belief in the Bible as the Word of God and in the inner testimony of the

Spirit as together constituting the supreme religious authority. The sovereignty of God, man's accountability to his Maker, salvation by grace through personal faith in Jesus Christ, and obedience to God's law and will as the response proper to faith were doctrines which nourished independence of spirit, a high sense of responsibility, and a love of personal and political freedom.

2. **The British.** — The British Protestants of 1867 counted in the "class of persons" mentioned in Article 93 of the B.N.A. Act included those who had been born in the province or in another British American colony and a large number of more recent immigrants of English, Scottish, and Irish extraction who had an immediate memory of the old country. Each of these groups was heterogeneous as to cultural assumptions, economic status and religious persuasion.

The native British had ancestors who, in early days, were sharply divided with respect to social class and values. These classes were the ruling, official group and the merchant traders. Members of the former were inclined, in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, to desire the replication in Canada of British social structures: an established church; rule by persons of property and of distinguished family; and a mercantile, trades, and labouring class which kept its place. They were deeply suspicious and disdainful of the Montreal and Quebec merchants who were motivated by the needs of business. Governor James Murray spoke of the traders as "licentious fanatics" and Sir Guy Carleton was scarcely less derogatory, although the latter's opinion was said to have improved with the passage of time and with closer acquaintance.[5] The traders, who mixed religious, political, and commercial values in a brew typical of their day, were irked at the failure of the governing powers to establish English commercial law in lower Canada. In order that they might share in the decision-making they felt was needed in the new country, they pressed for an elected popular assembly to be composed, naturally, mostly of themselves as Protestants. Frustrated in these attempts by a governor who was careful of the feelings of the Canadians, the merchants were loud in their protests concerning non-British practices such as the seating of Roman Catholics on juries. Canadians also had a proclivity, the merchants declared, for breaking the sabbath. And the governor was slack in his church attendance. The criticism of the merchants was perhaps directed more at the religion than the ethnicity of the Canadians. When the Legislative Assembly in the 1820s and 1830s engaged in its long battle with the Legislative Council, the former, chiefly composed of French-speaking nationalists sometimes found allies among the British merchants, who had by then accepted an assembly of mixed religion.

Associated with the official class after the American Revolution, but representing a somewhat different set of values and also to be distinguished from the "Americans" of the Eastern Townships were Loyalists such as William Smith and his son-in-law Jonathan Sewell, who both became chief-justices of the province. Smith brought to the affairs of Lower Canada a relevant education and experience gained in his native New York. Sewell, unfortunately, is remembered in Quebec history as that chief-justice against whom impeachment proceedings were instituted. He was accused by partisans of the assembly of usurping parliamentary authority, but was cleared on the charge. Sewell's other claim to fame was his industry in circulating English Bibles.

The power of the official class declined as that of the merchants grew. Anglicans saw the "clergy reserves" secularized in the mid-nineteenth century. But their views of the relation of church and education remained influential, and were a major factor in determining the shape of Protestant education in Quebec. Of continuing importance, too, were English traditions concerning the purpose and organization of schools.

More recent British Protestant immigrants to Quebec (as viewed from 1867) had come from England, Scotland and Ireland and settled in the Eastern Townships, the Chateauguay Valley, Gaspé, Argenteuil, the Ottawa Valley and the county of Megantic, often forming ethnic communities which bore the imprint of their ancestors' values for many generations. The ranks of the merchants and professions in Montreal and other centres were also enriched by the continual flow of new accessions from Britain. The Scots were particularly influential. They brought that Scottish ideal about education which was first inspired by Knox's Book of Discipline: the right of all persons, regardless of social class, to have full educational opportunities. Since 1696, in Scotland, free education had been provided by a law which made the property-holders in each country district responsible for erecting and maintaining parish schools, the curriculum and standards being under the control of the church. In the burghs, too, schools had long been provided. It was possible in Scotland, perhaps to a greater degree than in any other country in the last century, for a given pupil to pursue an educational career beginning in a country school which could lead eventually through university.

The Scottish influence was highly operative in the mid-nineteenth century in the Montreal business sector, where commercial, political and religious endeavours were often blended. James Ferrier, merchant, banker, mayor, member of parliament, senator, member of the Council of Public Instruction and of the boards of McGill University and the Wesleyan Theological College, attended Bible Class in Great St. James Methodist Church for forty-five years, and for a considerable portion of that time was also superintendent of the Sunday School. Peter McGill, who was the first mayor of Montreal, held at various times high offices in an array of financial, educational, cultural and churchly institutions which included the Grand Trunk Railway, the Board of Trade of Montreal, the Colonial Life Assurance Association, the Montreal General Hospital, McGill and Queen's Universities, the British and Canadian School Society of Montreal, the Montreal Branch of the British and Foreign Bible Society, the St. Andrew's Society, Royal Arch Masonry, and the Lay Association of Montreal in connection with the Church of Scotland. In earlier days than those of Ferrier and Peter McGill thrived John Richardson, Scotsman, leading layman in Christ Church, merchant, whose money went to the Montreal General Hospital, and James McGill, who held pews in both Christ Church and the "Scotch" Church, and was founder of McGill University. And there were many other famous names.[6]

These were men for whom affairs of counter stool and "Board" chair on weekdays were undergirded by values they heard asserted as they sat in their pews on Sundays, and for whom much derived from the school bench of their childhood in Scotland. There were merchants of other stock — the English Molsons, for example — but the oft-mentioned Scottish influence on the curriculum at McGill University and at the High School of Montreal[7] reveals the origin of many of the values that have inspired education in Montreal.

3. **The Americans.** — Loyalist refugees arrived in various parts of Quebec during and after the American Revolutionary War. But they were never numerous in Lower Canada. The immigration to the Townships from Vermont and other northern states, which continued with strength well into the nineteenth century, brought a somewhat different American breed. These settlers came not so much for political reasons, but rather because they possessed "a keen eye for a stretch of alluvial river bottom and a slope of hardwood timber facing the sun."[8] They conveyed to the Townships their Puritan heritage, which still formed the basis of New England culture. Learning as a desirable life aim and common schooling as the means of achieving it were accepted as norms. Harvard, the first college established in British America (1636), had been founded as a demonstration of the Puritan ideal that proper education and piety were complementary. Common schools had been a feature of New England life almost from its first settlement. Communities controlled their schools as an expression of religious and civic duty, for, in their minds, these two aspects of life were indissolubly linked. This frame of mind, which dignified the field of worldly work and took a no-nonsense approach to religious mysteries, was fertile ground for the development of a non-sectarian and secular view of education. But "secular", with them, designated "non-churchly" or "non-sectarian" rather than "void of religion". The moral and religious dimensions of life were not, according to the assumptions of this culture, excluded from education. Horace Mann, enshrined in America's pantheon as a founder of the public school system, was emphatic on two points: that there should not be any denominational influence in the public schools and that schools must convey Christian (by which he meant "Protestant") values.

Settlers in the Townships revealed the stock from which they had come, when, soon after building their cabins, they began to erect elementary schools and academies for the education of their children, planting there the Bible as a reading text. Keen resentment was registered when the Royal Institution, which helped them with funds and supplied some teachers, wanted control over the schools. The pioneers objected to teachers from England and other foreign places who seemed to "look down their noses" at the humble homes of the people. They were also quick to notice the difference between themselves and their Roman Catholic neighbours in the matter of education. Catholics, they reported, taught mostly prayer and catechism:

> The membership is drilled and trained in church rites and laws, such as no Protestant Christianity would allow. Liberty to think and

> act in matters of religion... is denied them. Their appointed holidays amount to one fourth of the days of the year, so that much time is spent in listening to Latin prayers...[9]

This was not, in the view of the Townships' folk, useful labour. A special government commission in the days of the assembly schools (1829-1836) was said to have been astonished to find a high rate of literacy among the inhabitants of the Townships which contrasted dramatically with what had been accomplished in the French-language schools.[10]

These Americans, like most Protestants, enjoyed a strong sense of the dignity of work, a positive attitude toward the things of the material world, and a belief that an individual in his right "calling," no matter how humble it might be, was charged with a work of God. Largely rural and supported by closely-knit, self-sustaining communities, they were able to maintain their traditional values in Quebec. It is probably accurate to hold that the alliance of New Englanders, Scots, English, and Irish in the Townships developed a distinctive culture which differed from that in cosmopolitan and commercial Montreal. Certainly the two regions were frequently at cross purposes in matters of education.

B. THE FOUNDING OF QUEBEC'S PUBLIC EDUCATION SYSTEM

Because of religious, cultural and economic differences, Protestants did not at once develop in Quebec a unified approach to education.

Some Protestants, no doubt, were familiar with the "non-denominational" approach to public education which was developing, by the nineteenth century, in the public schools of Scotland and the United States, or with Joseph Lancaster's "non-sectarian" Charity schools which became popular in England and America by the 1820s and 1830s. According to the non-sectarian ideal, members of religious denominations which might be very diverse in their doctrines of evangelical truth (the means of salvation, the relation of law and gospel, the nature of justification and of sanctification etc.) left responsibility for these teachings to the church and home, and co-operated in a school system which had educational purposes acceptable to all based on general moral and religious principles. Such schools tended to be democratic in tone since education was thought to be for everyone regardless of social status.

But this solution of educational problems was hardly acceptable to Anglicans. In England, law had made Anglicanism normative; Dissenters had had to form their own academies. Anglicans feared that the reduction of the teaching of religious truth in the schools to generalities agreeable to all parties would make such education ineffective. They maintained typically that "religious training which had for its basis a distinct creed was essential in educating the young."[11] Anglican educational ideals did not place such great dependence upon the development of the power of the intellect as did those of some other Protestants. Like Roman Catholics, they favored schools in which worship, prayer, and the teaching of saving truth permeated the whole process of education and addressed the learner at every level of his person. Anglicans were, also, less sure than others, perhaps, that democracy was as sound a basis for political order as the rule of an elite specially prepared by birth and education for this responsibility.

Thus the educational history of Quebec, in the first half of the nineteenth century, was marked by the struggle to settle the religious and social character of the public schools. Catholic, French laicist,[12] Anglican, and Protestant "non-sectarian" points of view all vied for domination.

1. **1763-1837.** — Private schooling in both the English and French languages existed, especially in the towns of Quebec and Montreal, during the first decades of the British regime in Canada, but the first official proposal for a common educational system came only after the governor, Lord Dorchester, appointed, in 1787, a special committee of the Legislative Council to study the state of education in Canada. This committee's recommendation of free schools in every district and of a non-sectarian college may have owed much to the American and Presbyterian bias of Chief-Justice William Smith, convenor of the committee.[13] But education in New France, initiated and maintained by religious orders (with the financial help, at times, of the crown) had from its beginnings a distinctly Catholic religious base, and with Jesuit influence, had come under the control of the Bishop of Quebec. The Smith plan, though supported by some, including Mgr. Bailly de Meissen, co-adjutor of the bishop, was opposed by Bishop Hubert and by Rome[14], and no immediate action was taken on the proposal.

The school act of 1801 provided for a common educational system but the province had to wait until 1818 before the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning was appointed to implement the law. A few "royal" schools, supported by government funds, had been established before 1818 in French-Catholic, English-Prostestant, and religiously mixed districts but these were not greatly encouraged by the Catholic clergy since inspection and the right to appoint teachers were not in their control.

Attempts had been made from 1814 by the House of Assembly to provide for schools which would be locally controlled because:

> ...qu'il conviendrait infiniment mieux de laisser le Soin de l'Education de la Jeunesse, dans les paroisses de Campagne, au Curé et Principaux Habitans du lieu, tant pour le Choix des Maîtres, que pour la Surveillance. Que les Habitans craindront toujours d'envoyer les Enfants sous un Maître dont ils ne connaissent ni les Moeurs ni les Principes...[15]

Such sentiments led to the passing of a law in 1824 which permitted local church authorities ("fabriques") to erect and maintain schools from their funds with the additional help of government grants.

The Royal Institution, meanwhile, had encountered grave difficulties. It was continually plagued by financial problems, the Jesuits' Estates money, meant for educational purposes, was somehow diverted. The Anglican bishop had insisted that he, rather than one of the justices (as at first proposed), should hold the principal ship of the Institution but the Catholic bishop would not agree to serve as a trustee on that basis. No other Catholic clergyman was appointed. The board of the Institution, composed of a selection of prominent jurists, legislators and churchmen, was overwhelmingly English-speaking and Anglican in character. After 1822, regulations of the Institution gave the local priest or minister powers of supervision as official visitor to the neighbourhood school but the curés refused to act. The Institution also developed a policy of appointing candidates approved by the local citizens as teachers to district schools,[16] but the resistance of French-speaking, Catholic districts remained. Proposals aimed at dividing the authority over the royal schools between Catholics and Protestants were made at various times. These first suggested two separate Royal Institutions and later the formation of two distinct committees of the Institution. But the plans, though supported by the governor, Lord Dalhousie, and by successive Catholic bishops, foundered in the crossfire between warring parties. Protestants hoped for an eventual unified system[17] on their terms; the Catholic church wanted schools for Catholics under their control; and the members of the House of Assembly had their own vision of suitable schools for Quebec.

The Royal Institution was never able to rid itself of its English and Anglican image. The French-speaking districts almost totally rejected it; but some English-speaking citizens were also resentful. No place was given among the Institution's trustees, as finally constituted,[18] to official representation from the Church of Scotland (as much "established" in Britain as the Church of England). Some Presbyterians must have noticed that only Anglican catechisms were available for distribution in the schools; Methodists, no doubt, felt rejected because their requests for the use of school buildings for their "meetings" were commonly denied; the Townships folk wanted complete local authority over the schools.[19] The Royal Institution was able to found the Royal Grammar Schools of Quebec and Montreal (ancestors of the Quebec and Montreal High Schools) and to start McGill College on its precarious early course, but most of the Institution's schools disappeared in the 1830s when the assembly's generous grants and terms made the latter's system more attractive.

The assembly schools, inspired by a strong laic movement in the French-speaking sector, thrived mightily for a time, withered in the struggle between the assembly and the legislative council for the control of funds, and died in the socially devastating rebellion of 1837. A commission appointed by the governor, Lord Gosford, to review the state of education in Lower Canada, attributed the weakness of the assembly schools in 1836 to the lack of a central board of authority. The report of the commission seemed to blame the assembly for failing to foster a sense of community responsibility for education. But the commissioners could not, or dared not, suggest a plan to meet this deficiency.[20]

During these years and for several decades following, tutors or small private schools in homes supplied elementary education to the affluent among Protestants in the cities. Charity schools provided for the masses. The "National Schools" in Quebec and Montreal operated according to Andrew Bell's Madras system; that is, they used student-monitors as part of the pedagogical process and gave specifically Anglican religious teaching. The "British and Canadian Schools" in the two cities (sponsored by an interdenominational committee of citizens) used the monitorial system of Joseph Lancaster.[21] The American Presbyterian Church of Montreal,[22] the Methodists, and others, sponsored, at various periods, their own schools in Montreal. In the Townships, the Newfoundland and British North American Society for Educating the Poor sponsored elementary schools which gave "sound Scriptural Education,"[23] supplementing the Anglican missionary work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. These Protestant charity schools were open to children of both sexes, of both the French and English tongues, and of all religious denominations. Instruction was in English. Education at more advanced levels was supplied by the Royal Grammar Schools in the cities and by several rural academies.

2. **1837-1846.** — In 1839, Lord Durham's **Report on the Affairs of British North America** recommended the union of the Canadas and the grant to the colony of responsible government. The report also implied that only the eventual anglicization of Canada would solve Canada's internal problems. The section of the report dealing with education, printed as an appendix to the main publication, agreed with that premise. The educational survey on which these recommendations were based was the work of a team headed by Arthur Buller; it called for a common school system transcending language, cultural, and religious divisions, with a proper balance of local and central powers, and with financing through direct school taxes and government grants. Religious education, it was suggested, might be accomplished by the use of a text of Biblical extracts, such as that used by the National Schools of Ireland, or one compiled by a committee of local clergy representing all denominations. Additional religious education might be arranged after school hours. The Buller report has been described as "an interesting essay on what might have been ideally the best scheme of education for Lower Canada, if the actual conditions had not presented insuperable difficulties to its adoption."[24] The strongest support for Buller's plan came, not surprisingly, from the "laity of British origin."[25] Of more practical influence for lower Canada but still quite idealistic, was Charles Mondelet's proposal for a school system based on the New York State model. Mondelet presumed that English would be the common language of the future in Canada, but he sought to promote bilingualism and a certain freedom for education in French. Schools of the two languages might be placed close to one another, even in the same building, he suggested, so that the two peoples might gradually come to understand and respect one another. The common school system envisaged by Mondelet provided that the "Clergy, the Government and the People"[26] each would have a stake in policy-making and in control of the schools, though the legislature would have the final responsibility. Mondelet's plan for religious education in public schools was similar to that

of Buller: the use of a syllabus of Bible lessons agreed upon by the clergy of the different faiths.

The parliament of the United Canadas, meeting in 1841, had the Mondelet plan (favoured by the governor, Lord Sydenham) and others as models in proposing its much-needed educational legislation. But members were also besieged with petitions and suggestions in bewildering array which made an easy solution to the problem impossible. Catholics desired their own schools with support from government funds; the Anglican Bishop Strachan wanted the same for his denomination. In addition, church leaders and congregations, many of them Anglican or Presbyterian from Lower Canada, deluged parliament with petitions against the use of a book of Biblical extracts in schools. They asked, as one petition put it, that the "Bible... be recognized as the class book to be universally taught in all public schools... throughout the Province in which Protestant children shall receive their education... ."[27] A parliamentary subcommittee appointed to consider all these points of view did finally bring in proposals for the organization of a common school system, but could build hope for the passage of the proposed bill only by including in it a clause making provision for the possibility of dissent on religious grounds, and giving the assurance that dissenting schools would receive full financial assistance.

The 1841 act proved difficult to implement because of its impracticality and imprecision. A Superintendent of Education and two assistants, one for each of the former provinces, were appointed. But it quickly became clear that Upper and Lower Canada could not be governed by the same school law. There were distinctive customs and structures with respect to local government, to say nothing of the contrasting views on education held by the majorities in either province. Upper Canada received its own educational legislation in 1843, and Lower Canada, after an abortive attempt in 1845, obtained, in 1846, the educational law upon which the present system has been built.

The school Act of 1846 made the common schools of the province of Lower Canada (Canada East) the responsibility of school commissioners elected (except in quebec City and Montreal) by the resident property-holders of each school municipality. The commissioners were given authority, under the general supervision of the Superintendent of Education, to hold property; build and maintain schools; hire and fire teachers; regulate the course of study, using texts approved by the Board of Examiners, except that the local priest, curé or minister was to choose the books used for moral and religious instruction of the pupils pertaining to his religious denomination; arrange for the visitation of schools; levy and collect school taxes; and receive grants from the government. A dissentient clause, similar to that in the act of 1841 was retained. It provided:

> That when in any Municipality, the regulations and arrangements made by the School Commissioners for the conduct of any school, shall not be agreeable to any number whatever of the inhabitants professing a religious faith different from that of the majority of the

> inhabitants of such Municipality, the inhabitants so dissentient may collectively signify such dissent and give the names of three Trustees, chosen by them, for the purpose of this Act...[28]

The dissentient trustees were declared to have the same duties with respect to dissentient schools as commissioners had for common schools, including the use of school tax monies, and their proportion of the government grant.

The urban areas of Lower Canada came under a somewhat different setof rules. The cities of Montreal and Quebec were provided with dual school commissions (Catholic and Protestant) which, though denominational,[29] were to admit pupils of a different faith who applied but were not otherwise provided for. School commissioners in these cities were to be appointed by the city councils, a system later revised to provide the appointment of three of the six members of each board by the provincial government. Schools were to be financed by the city corporations who would receive government grants according to population though at a much lower rate than that provided for country schools, which were not so well served by private institutions. City school commissions had in fact little work to do until later in the century, when social changes began to increase the number of city children wanting public schooling.

The act also set up Boards of Examiners in Montreal and Quebec to serve the needs of the province for the examining and licensing of teachers. Each board was divided into Catholic and Protestant sections. Priests and ministers and certain other public office holders in the communities or school municipalities were named by the act as visitors to the schools. They had a kind of supervising and inspecting duty, which, as it turned out, was not always faithfully fulfilled.

The educational laws of the 1840s projected a common, not a denominational, system of education in the Canadas.[30] The schools were to be open to all and controlled, like those in Mondelet's exemplary New York, by the general local citizenry. Almost everyone then agreed that a dominant purpose of education was the installation in the young of those virtues which would contribute to acceptable moral character. Catholics believed that such an end could be achieved only by church influence in the schools, and Protestants rested their hopes on the study of the Bible. But the school laws presumed to make no suggestion about the purposes of education or how they might be achieved, nor indeed, about the language of instruction to be employed. Such matters were to be worked out at the level of the local school board in a democratic way. The designers of the laws considered the dissentient clause merely a mechanism to accommodate the exceptional cases where citizens of school municipalities were utterly unable to agree on the way the religious dimension of education was to be handled. The denominational principle was by no means to be allowed to fragment the school system. When Solicitor-General Sherwood suggested in the Legislative Assembly in 1846 that there should be separate public school systems for the denominations, he was silenced by Robert Baldwin who said:

> If you allow all denominations to have separate schools you would destroy the whole Common School system for the wealthy bodies would have good schools and the poor ones would have none.[31]

Opposition in Canada East to the organizational uniformity imposed by the education law of 1846 was immediate and strong. Compulsory taxation, basic to the system, was opposed in many sections of the province by men who carried on "la guerre des éteignoirs" and actively obstructed the organization of schools and burned those erected. There was complaint among Protestants that the law was unfair to minorities in that the trustees of dissentient schools were not allowed a parity of rights with the school commissioners. Among other things, they could not collect their own taxes. The response of John Dougall, editor of the **Montreal Witness,** to the law of 1846 was to open up a campaign for "Christian schools"; he suggested that Protestants should have a superintendent of education of their own, since it was not to be expected that one who would undoubtedly always be Roman Catholic would promote Protestant education.[32] Catholic authorities, though in general favourable to the act of 1846, were concerned that the property-owning requirement for school commissioners ruled out priests. Revisions of the law in 1849 met some of these complaints. Priests were allowed to be commissioners, even though propertyless, and dissentients received the right to request from the commissioners (if they felt things were not being handled well) the assessment rolls relating to them, and in the future to levy and collect their own taxes. It seems clear, however, that J.-B. Meilleur, the Superintendent of Education, felt it his duty to protect the common school principle and to discourage dissidence. Indeed, relatively few Protestant dissentient schools and even fewer Catholic ones existed before Confederation.[33] They were not really necessary in Canada East except in those rural areas which had a religiously-mixed population. Most schools became Catholic or Protestant in fact, though remaining legally common.

3. **1846-1867.** — The principle of local control enunciated in the early education laws did not, it seemed to some, do much to ensure high and uniform standards of education. A law in 1851 made provision for a system of school inspectors who would be accountable to the Superintendent of Education. And the Sicotte Commission, charged by the legislature to investigate conditions in the schools and make suitable recommendations, advocated in 1853 policies which would raise the quality of schooling through greater central control. When P.-J.-O. Chauveau became Superintendent in 1855 he began to pursue a vigorous policy of centralization. One of his first endeavours was to introduce legislation which, after establishing permanent funds[34] (using in part the resources of the Jesuits' Estates) for superior education, placed the power for the distribution of these grants with the office of the Superintendent. Chauveau was opposed by Protestant leaders such as Alexander Galt, R.B. Somerville, and J.H. Nicolls, Principal of Bishop's, who viewed such power in the hands of an officer who would always be Roman Catholic as potentially prejudicial to Protestant interests.[35] Galt instead wanted a stronger link between school commissioners and municipal councils. Chauveau won the day, however. The education act of 1856 was passed,

and the Superintendent subsequently won the respect of Protestants for his competence and fairness.

The years from 1856 to 1864 were marked by relatively good relations between French and English, Catholic and Protestant, who worked together to build an effective education system in Lower Canada. Ways were increasingly being found to co-exist. Chauveau published his **Journal of Education** in separate French and English editions. The normal schools, instituted by the law of 1856, were designed to accommodate religious and linguistic differences. An earlier attempt at normal school education (Montreal Normal School, 1837-1842) had made no such discrimination. The arrangement in 1857, when the new normal schools opened, was that English would be used at Protestant McGill (though there was also a strong emphasis upon conversational French) and French employed as the language of instruction at Laval in Quebec City and at Jacques Cartier in Montreal. The minority language groups in each case (more a problem for Catholics because of a considerable Irish, English-speaking population) had to manage as best they could.[36]

This decade of good feeling enabled the new Council of Public Instruction, which met first in late 1859, (having been instituted by a law passed a few years earlier) to work with some hope for success. The Council, made up of eleven Catholic and four Protestant members including the Anglican bishop Fulford and the Church of Scotland's John Cook, was seen as a mechanism for centralizing authority yet distributing it out of the sole possession of the Superintendent. The Council was given authority to make rules and regulations for the normal and common schools, to establish standards for teacher certification, and to list approved texts (other than those for moral and religious instruction) from which local school authorities could choose those to be used by schools under their care. Within a few years it was found to be convenient to allow informal "Catholic" and "Protestant" committees of the Council to choose certain texts for schools of their respective denominations which did not necessarily require the approval of the whole Council. This was the first step in the formulation of official separate curricula for Catholic and Protestant schools.

Superior (secondary) school education had been envisioned as a possible part of the government system of education in the 1846 act, but only gradually (and in the Catholic sector not till modern times) did most superior school education come under government control. The schools were assisted by government funds, however. The protestant Committee of the 1870s and 80s used its power over the deployment of grants as a way of extracting some accountability from superior schools, and of having them accept inspection.

By the mid-century, Anglicans had been forced to surrender any notion they had held of themselves controlling public education or even of maintaining Anglican schools in a government system. The school commissions set up in Montreal and Quebec in 1846 had been designated "Catholic" and "Protestant" with no finer denominational distinction being made. We have seen too that the 1846 education law provided for only such a denominational division within the Boards of Examiners. The Council of Public Instruction followed the pattern in the determination of its membership.

Anglicans also lost their battle for special influence in McGill University when a new charter in 1852 securalized the university. McGill was thereafter to serve a kind of model as to how Protestants were to find a unity in educational endeavour. The college was understood to be Protestant, claimed that its education was based on Christian moral and religious principles,[37] achieved a reputation for representing Protestant teachers, and in time secured an accretion of Protestant theological colleges. The governors were henceforth no longer to be appointed by the crown, but were chosen by their own board and were representatives of the several Protestant denominations of the province. McGill was Protestant but not church-controlled, secular but not irreligious, a ready model for an understanding of the nature of Protestant schools. The reservation with which some Anglicans accepted this new order of things was manifest in the Bishop of Montreal's speech at the opening ceremonies of the McGill Normal School in 1857:

> It is clear that in an establishment like this supported by public funds, and admitting persons of various communions, there must be some modification of faith provided, some compromise allowed...and while I protest against the ignoring religion, as the basis of all sound education, while at all times I shall re-iterate that protest, and accept the present organisation not as in itself the best, but the best attainable one, I, and those who act with me, will endeavour, as far as any small portion of the task may depend on us, to work out for the benefits of this lower Province the objects of this institution.[38]

Principal Dawson, on the other hand, held that non-denominational education had been the ideal of Protestants in Lower Canada since 1789 when Chief-Justice Smith's committee recommended it.[39]

Unity grew apace among Protestants in Quebec as Confederation loomed and they were faced with the prospect of distinct minority status in a province now to be dominated, it seemed, by French Canadian, and therefore, Catholic values. In 1866 the newly formed Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers (in which Dawson was a power) forwarded a petition to the throne imploring that, since Protestants were unable in Quebec to enjoy "a general and non-denominational system of education"[40] such as existed in Upper Canada, consideration be given to the due protection of their educational rights. They suggested that Protestants should have the authority to create and manage their own educational system and have the right to pay the whole of their school taxes to it. The petitioners did not achieve quite all they asked for. But the B.N.A. Act of 1867 did in section 93 provide religious minorities with more specific guarantees than those suggested in the Quebec Conference of 1864. This may have been chiefly the work of Alexander Galt, one of the Quebec Fathers of Confederation, who was among those chosen to go to London to negotiate the act, and who is said to have been responsible for the draft of section 93 on which the final wording was based.

4. **1867-1875.** — Provincial educational legislation in 1869 and 1875 provided for Roman Catholics and Protestants an even more distinct division of authority over the schools and thus accomplished an almost complete victory of the denominational principle over the common school idea.

The law of 1869 was probably designed chiefly to conciliate the Protestants who were clamouring for action on a pre-Confederation promise made by George-Etienne Cartier that Protestant education would be protected by the Province of Quebec. There was among Protestants a continuing advocacy of the complete separation of Protestant and Catholic educational systems. But the first major challenge of this nature to the government of the new province came from the Montreal Protestant School Commissioners, who threatened to take advantage of their newly-won right of appeal to the Governor-General in Council unless the principle of "Protestant taxes for Protestant school's" was established in their city. The Protestant influence in the provincial government was fairly strong. P.-J.-O. Chauveau, now premier of the province, and Minister of Public Instruction (a post created in 1867) possessed the confidence of Protestants. Christopher Dunkin, who had been prominent in the cause of education since 1837 when he served as secretary of Arthur Buller's committee of investigation into education, was provincial treasurer and leading Protestant voice in the Cabinet. The leader of the opposition, Henri Joly de Lotbinière, was Protestant and sympathetic. Henry Hopper Miles, formerly professor at Bishop's, had been appointed English Secretary in the Ministry of Education, and was an official interpreter of Protestant needs and wishes with respect to education. The 1869 law was therefore very good to Protestants. The city school commissions were provided with the means for obtaining financial resources which, at least in the case of Montreal, were essential to the future of public school education. A "panel-system" of accountancy was set up which enabled Protestants and Catholics to assign their taxes for the use of their own school boards and to share the tax revenues from corporations. The Council of Public Instruction was formally divided into two committees, Protestant and Catholic, which were allowed to meet separately to deal with their different interests, though decisions had to be ratified still by the whole Council. Further, there was written into the law provision for either Committee to call for a complete separation of Protestant and Catholic Committees in the Council should that step ever become necessary. The power of the Minister of Education was retained in the law. His office was viewed by some (and probably by Chauveau himself) as symbolizing the essential unity in the diversity of Quebec education and as a continuing demonstration of the "common" principle.

The law of 1875, which abolished the Ministry of Education, replacing it by a new superintendency, may have been, at least in part, the result of increasing pressure on the provincial government for a more authoritative voice for Catholic bishops in the education of Catholic children. The ultramontane party among Catholics, now powerful in

Quebec, had for some time been restless with the increasing state control over education.[41] The failure of New Brunswick Catholics, to procure federal intervention after legislation in that province in 1871 had limited Catholic rights in public education fed the forces in Quebec which were working to assure such rights. De Boucher ville, who had succeeded Chauveau as premier, was sympathetic to the cause. Prominent Protestants, except Alexander Galt[42] were, for their own reasons, also favourable to the 1875 bill. James Williams, the Anglican Bishop of Quebec, soon to be chairman of the new Protestant Committee, was, for example, troubled about abuses in the school inspectorate as long as it remained a political appointment. "No good would come till educational (sic) was severed from political matters,[43] he had publicly declared. A meeting of Protestant members of the Council of Public Instruction with Protestant legislators, during the debate on the bill, recommended that there should be two superintendents of education, one Catholic and one Protestant, and that the membership of the Protestant Committee should be enlarged.[44] The law of 1875 did not directly grant these additional Protestant requests, but it stipulated that the Catholic Committee of the Council of Public Instruction, now to consist of all the Catholic bishops of the province **ex officio** and an equal number of laymen, should have exclusive authority over education as it pertained to Catholic schools, and that the Protestant Committee, the membership of which was to be composed of persons appointed by the "Lieutenant-Governor in Council (after consultation with major Protestant denominational groups) and additional members selected by the Committee itself, should have exclusive authority over all Protestant schools which received government grants. The superior education grants, the total of which was to be divided among Catholics and Protestants proportionally according to their numbers at the last preceding census, were to be apportioned among schools by the decision of the denominational committees. The allocation of grants for elementary education and the supervision of inspectors remained with the Superintendent of Public Instruction.

Thus it is from 1875 that we must date the organization of the two denominational systems of Quebec. Subsequent arrangements confirmed and deepened the cleavage of educational authority into Catholic and Protestant divisions. The powers of the "English Secretary", who in due course also filled the position of secretary of the Protestant Committee, increased to the extent that he became the effective executive secretary and director of Protestant education, though the latter title was not officially given until 1925. New school municipalities created by Order-in-Council to meet the needs of consolidating or new-area schools were, after 1890, described as "for Catholics" or "for Protestants".[45] The commonality of the systems was retained in the office of the Superintendent of Education and in the Council of Public Instruction (after 1925 called the Council of Education). The Council, however, rarely met after 1875. So conditions remained until the passage of the education acts of 1964.

After Confederation, neither Catholics nor Protestants wanted a common educational system in Quebec. But they had different reasons for this. Catholics feared the secular influences of state-controlled education

They viewed contemporary France as an illustration of what could happen when the young were permitted to read Voltaire and other "infidele" authors. They believed they had a responsibility to Catholic parents to supply Catholic schools. Protestants believed that they could not safely entrust the interests of their minority culture to a government or officials who did not share that culture. Denominational systems developed. But there were in the two systems variant concepts of what that implied for the content of education.

Anglicans had, by the time of Confederation, entered wholeheartedly into the co-operative endeavour to build a system of public Protestant education. It may be significant that though Principal Dawson remained on the Protestant Committee and was a powerful influence there almost to the end of the century, the official posts, such as the chairmanship of the Committee and the full-time "English" secretaryship, were held for the most part by a succession of Anglicans.[46] The majority of Protestants in Quebec had discovered certain unifying principles which prevailed over their differences. It is important to understand more specifically what these were, and particularly to observe the cost of that unity.

C. FOUNDATIONAL PRINCIPLES IN PROTESTANT EDUCATION

Most Protestants in 1867 shared the belief that the education of every citizen was not only desirable but essential for that individual and for society. The few who still wondered whether learning might not give the lower classes extravagant ideas about their presumed rights were answered that education reduced crime by instilling correct moral principles and that modern industry depended upon a mental discipline and liberalization of spirit which could be produced only through schooling. There was also the ancient Protestant argument for literacy, dating from Luther himself, and repeated to Montreal citizens by Joseph Lancaster[47] and others that through literacy every person would be enabled to read his own Bible and thereby receive moral and religious teaching directly addressed to his own conscience and related to his own effort. These opinions were now on their way to being transmuted into the assumption that elementary education was an individual's right and that those charged with responsibility for it had a duty of citizenship and of religion to perform. Rhetoric about the education of every man was sometimes geared to an economic motive and often to the argument that increase of general "intelligence" and personal enrichment of individuals would benefit the quality of life in the nation and community.

A widely accepted theory of education in this period held that the primary aim of schooling was to develop the mental powers, the faculties, and only secondarily to impart a "body of knowledge". Not the intellect only, it was commonly said, but the "conscience" and the "heart" must be developed. Character-training was thus installed in a pre-eminent position amongst the purposes of education.

There were differences, however, in the methods favored for achieving this aim. Professors at Bishop's and teachers in many academies believed that education was best accomplished by mastering the classical languages:

> Their object is to discipline the mind of the student, to elevate the taste, and to develop the critical faculty. The elevation of the taste and the promotion of the critical faculty are commonly attained by familiarizing the youthful mind with the best productions of literature.[48]

But educators who followed the realist tradition of Bacon, Comenius, Milton, Pestalozzi, etc. argued that "since the mind derives its knowledge in the first place from external objects acting upon the organs of sense,"[49] it was of prime importance that the child learn to observe things accurately. The later development of the powers of clear reasoning and accurate judgment depended upon this initial accuracy in perception. It followed that "things," not "words," should be the focus of education, particularly at the elementary level. McGill University carried something of the latter orientation into higher education. Though McGill retained the classics and mathematics as basics, there was emphasis too upon natural science, English literature, and history. This was a realist bias supported in England by the writings of Herbert Spencer. McGill also exemplified a typical Protestant orientation to "usefulness" when it promoted "professional" education. Schools of Engineering and Practical Chemistry were instituted in addition to Medicine and Law. Theology was soon to follow through the affiliation of denominational theological colleges. The same spirit led the university to pioneer in the higher education of women beginning in the 1880s. One of the most obvious distinguishing features of Protestant education at the academy level, when compared to Catholic education, was the complete ease with which co-education of the sexes was engaged in many high schools. The promotion of competitive sports as an integral part of school life (by Headmaster, later Bishop, Williams at Bishop's College School, for instance) also came to be a feature of Protestant education which distinguished it somewhat from that in Catholic schools.

Another area of commonality among the diverse groups in Protestant education related to the kinds of virtues sought for and promoted among teachers and pupils. Teachers were, above all, to manifest "goodness of heart and high moral principle." They ought to avoid a "mercenary spirit" in seeking the "office" of teacher and to act as models for their pupils.[50] The task of the teacher, it was frequently declared, involved a dedication similar to that required of the clergyman and was in fact a religious calling as noble as his. Lists of the virtues to be encouraged in pupils abounded in the pages of the **Journal of Education.** "Clearness of mental vision which rewards the patient searcher after truth," and "the mental strength which is the result of difficulties fairly met and overcome"[51] were cited by teacher Margaret Robertson of Sherbrooke in her prize-winning essay of 1865. Effort was important, according to Inspector John Bruce of Huntingdon:

> Where do we look for our bravest, noblest and purest characters? Is it not among our men of work, physical and mental? Who

> constitute the drags to the advancement of our race?...those whose motives to work is necessity — the impending fear of starving: not surely our hearty working classes: not our earnest effort men, whose capital is time, turning its moments to account. These are our life-men, who adorn humanity, on whom hang the progress of society.[52]

Bruce struck another characteristic note when he wrote:

> All our questioning should aim at this; and the success of our teaching must ever be measured, not by the amount of information we have imparted, but by the degree in which we have strengthened the judgment and enlarged the capacity of our pupils, and imparted into them that searching and inquiring spirit which is a far surer basis for all future acquisitions than any amount of information whatever.[53]

Professor Johnson of McGill named the vices to be avoided at all costs by students at the university as "over-confidence and presumption."[54]

The heavy emphasis upon individual initiative in Protestant education was remarked upon in 1897 by the Catholic, Léon Gérin, sometimes called "the father of French-Canadian sociology," as something which distinguished Protestant or Anglo-Saxon education from that given in French-Canadian elementary schools:

> Les groupes à traditions communautaires développent des attitudes de dépendance, d'apathie civique, de timidité, de routine; la formation communautaire, ne développant pas le goût du succès personnel, ne pousse que faiblement vers l'instruction. Par contre, les peuples de tradition particulariste développent dans la population un esprit d'entreprise, de hardiesse, de combativité, d'initiative personnelle; l'instruction apparaît alors comme l'une des conditions de succès dans la vie. Comme ce sont les Saxons qui ont poussé le plus loin cette formation particulariste, il n'est pas étonnant de constater l'intérêt qu'ils ont porté ici comme ailleurs à l'instruction. Les Canadiens français, d'autre part, maintenant de fortes traditions communautaires, ont peu compris ou mal compris la portée de l'instruction populaire.[55]

Gérin attributed the differences between the two groups to variant economic and social conditions and values. And, indeed, it may be truthfully said that Protestant education's emphasis upon the ideal of the resourceful, practical, self-determining individual was well adapted to the education of entrepreneurs and was encouraged by the assumptions and requirements of a free enterprise economy.

But Protestant individualism was rooted even more profoundly in beliefs about the nature of man and his duty which derived from Reformation times and earlier.

"Knowledge is power, but it is the power to do evil if not accompanied by the cultivation of the moral powers,"[56] observed Christopher Dunkin, M.P.P., member of the Council of Public Instruction, in a speech to the P.A.P.T. in 1866. The thought was almost a cliche of the period, but it expressed another generally accepted assumption that much of the business of education was in the realm of the moral and religious. Margaret Robertson of Sherbrooke spoke of the close connection between moral and religious education thus:

> No sense of the unchangeable nature of right and wrong, which is the foundation of all morality, can be awakened in him (the child), apart from the knowledge of God as the lawgiver of the world. No just ideas of our mutual relations, duties and responsibilities can be conveyed to his mind, while he remains entirely ignorant of his relation to his Maker, or unimpressed with a sense of his responsibility to Him. Through a sense of this responsibility a child can alone be taught his highest relative duties — obedience to parents, to teachers, to the laws of his country — a love of truth and all that is lovely in character, a hatred of deceit, of selfishness, or meanness in all its forms, can best be taught him, by inculcating the precepts, and exhibiting the life, of the only Perfect Example.[57]

Such truths, Miss Robertson averred, transcended creedal or sectarian religious teachings. She argued against those who would keep religious education out of the schools because of the dangers of sectarianism:

> In their minds it is impossible to dissassociate the ideals of **religious** teaching and **sectarian** teaching. They fail to see that religious teaching in its highest sense, is quite apart from — quite beyond — the mere iteration of a creed, the setting forth of a sectarian system of belief.[58]

Principal Dawson went further on this subject, implying that creedal differences were superficial in Protestantism. He described the "Christian and Protestant" nature of undenominational McGill University thus:

> Its influence... is exercised in such a way as to unite the members of the different denominations in love and harmony, and to hold forth a practical example of that great unity which underlies all the superficial divisions of our common Christianity.[59]

Creeds were thought by many, but not all, Protestants to be out of place in the public school classroom; but there was no doubt at all about the place of the Bible. All groups recognized the Bible not only as the authoritative source for Protestants of morality and of religious faith but as the foundation book of Western culture. Knowledge of the Bible, it was assumed, was an inheritance that must be transmitted to the younger generation if the values of the present civilization were to be maintained. The presence of the Bible in the classroom taught young Protestants that the Word of God as revealed in Scripture and interpreted by the individual conscience in conformity with the Spirit's guidance was the ultimate authority for life's purposes and values. The respect for individual conscience, perhaps more than anything else, was thought by Protestants to differentiate Protestant education from Catholic. The latter was, at the elementary level, strongly influenced by the local priest. At [illegible]nced levels Catholic education was conducted according to the ideals of the humanist Catholic synthesis of the Jesuit **Ratio Studiorum** and had in Quebec, at the time, a conservative and authoritarian component favoring the social **status quo** which lent itself well to the ultramontanism of the Catholic Church in the province. The authoritarian-dependent norm of behaviour was deemed the opposite of what should be expected of Protestant youth. The ultimate obedience of the Protestant was to be given not to any external authority but to his own conscience as informed by God who spoke in the Bible.

Another characteristic unifying most Protestants in Quebec in 1867 was their "Britishness". Principal Dawson, in an address in 1864 later printed and widely circulated, argued that freedom of authority for education in Quebec must be given the British Protestant minority because:

> The British minority of Lower Canada owe it as a sacred duty to their ancestors and their posterity, to the principles which they profess, and even to the population amidst which they are placed, to preserve their educational institutions intact; and it must be evident to every thoughtful mind that should the British interest in Lower Canada be reduced to insignificance, and this province become wholly gallicized and romanized, the federation will be a failure and the people of Lower Canada will be among the most serious sufferers amidst the throes of its dissolution.[60]

In the same speech, Dawson went so far as to claim that there was a political as well as a cultural and religious element in Catholic education which made it "unfavorable to the culture of the qualities which we most esteem in Englishmen."[61] He cited a book of the Christian Brothers used in English Catholic schools which "avoids the history and glorious traditions of our mother land, but includes fulsome eulogies of the American constitution and its heroes and references to the persecutions supposed to have been suffered by the Catholic Irish."[62] That the Catholic Irish were not to be considered truly "British" (and the French were not) meant that there was a close identification of Protestantism with Britishness.

This appeal to the British identity of most Protestants in Quebec in 1867 proved a much more powerful motivation to unified action than any that could have been made by citing purer Protestant principles. It "made sense" to the many for whom it was more possible to consult middle-class economic and national identifications than to refer to those profounder but remoter assumptions of their Protestant conscience. The identification of Protestant with British values was to shape Protestant education in Quebec for the next century. The expectation for French Protestants was that they assimilate to British cultural norms; the same was true for immigrants of "foreign" cultures. A deep cultural distinction was made between the English Canadian and the French Canadian, the two lived in different worlds.

Yet a touchstone, visible from time to time, remained in the values asserted by Protestant education which helped it to transcend its particular national and economic identification. The critical spirit, born of a Protestant refusal to count anything human divine, kept dogmatism in check, and openness to experiments, the corollary of the Protestant belief that no human mind can hold the fulness of truth but must ever pursue it further, kept Protestant education open to the future.

D. INTERPRETATIONS OF THE BRITISH NORTH AMERICA ACT

Much discussion has taken place in recent years as to the precise nature and extent of the rights or privileges guaranteed under the B.N.A. Act. Guy Houle, who in 1966 researched this subject in the educational law of Quebec and in the legal judgments on cases affected by section 93 of the act,[63] concluded that on the basis of the Consolidated Statutes of 1861 (the law in effect at the time of Confederation) only the rights of dissentient elementary schools and of the elementary schools of the Quebec City and Montreal school commissions might be considered as protected. All other schools are, by law, common, or did not exist in 1867 and thus do not come directly under the terms of the exceptional clauses of the act. Houle further gave an opinion that only cases connected with the rights of dissentient elementary schools are eligible for appeal to the Governor-General in Council. Denominational schools of the type represented by the school commissions of Quebec City and Montreal are not minority schools and thus not comparable to the dissentient schools of Lower Canada nor the separate schools of Upper Canada mentioned as parallel in the act and as enjoying the right of appeal by virtue of that parallelism. Houle's conclusion was that the provincial government could feel free to engage in the structural reforms of the educational system envisioned by the Parent Commission — unified school boards, for instance.

A 1971 study by Chevrette, Marx and Tremblay on the constitutionality of the proposed Bill 28[64] and a report by Herbert Marx in 1975[65] connected with proposals for the re-organization of school boards on the Island of Montreal agreed that the special rights protected by the constitution must be viewed within the perspective of the province's responsibility for education and for the welfare of the people as a whole, and added their findings that the provincial government had the right to determine the language of instruction in the schools.

Anglophone Protestants have put forward much more liberal and comprehensive interpretations of the educational provisions of the B.N.A. Act. The "Howard Report" of 1969[66] concluded, after a careful examination of the evidence, that Protestants are constitutionally guaranteed the management and control of their schools, including the choice of the language of instruction, at both the elementary and secondary levels. The institutions having these rights, according to this study, are the dissentient, the denominational, and Order-In-Council school boards insofar as the latter stand in the place of dissentient school boards. Mr. T.P. Howard has also lately argued[67] that since the passage in the early 1970s of Bills 27 and 71, which made every school board in the province "denominational", it is beyond the legal powers of the provincial government to remove from any school board in Quebec its right to choose the language of instruction.

An appeal to the Governor-General in Council by the Quebec Association of Protestant School Boards in 1975 requested a ruling by the Supreme Court on the language rights of Protestants held to have been violated in the Quebec's Bill 22. But this was refused by the Prime Minister. In 1976 Chief Justice Jules Deschênes of the Quebec Superior Court ruled against a similar appeal from ten Quebec Protestant school boards. Deschênes held that Article 93 of the B.N.A. Act guarantees religious, not language, rights. Current appeals of the recent Quebec law 101, which denies to immigrants to Quebec, including anglophones from other countries and provinces, the right of free choice of the language of instruction in schooling, have, however, been encouraged by the federal governement.

The precise extent and nature of the legal guarantees of the rights of Protestants (and Catholics) in Quebec are, thus, far from clear. What can be said without contradiction is that the right of maintaining denominational and dissenting educational institutions was, under the B.N.A. Act, awarded to classes of persons defined according to differences in religious adherence. This was done because in the minds of the Fathers of Confederation, as in most persons of their time, education was thought to be largely a moral and religious concern. Schools had a responsibility to transmit values and to shape the character of the young; and the major value differences had to be taken into account in a democratic school system.

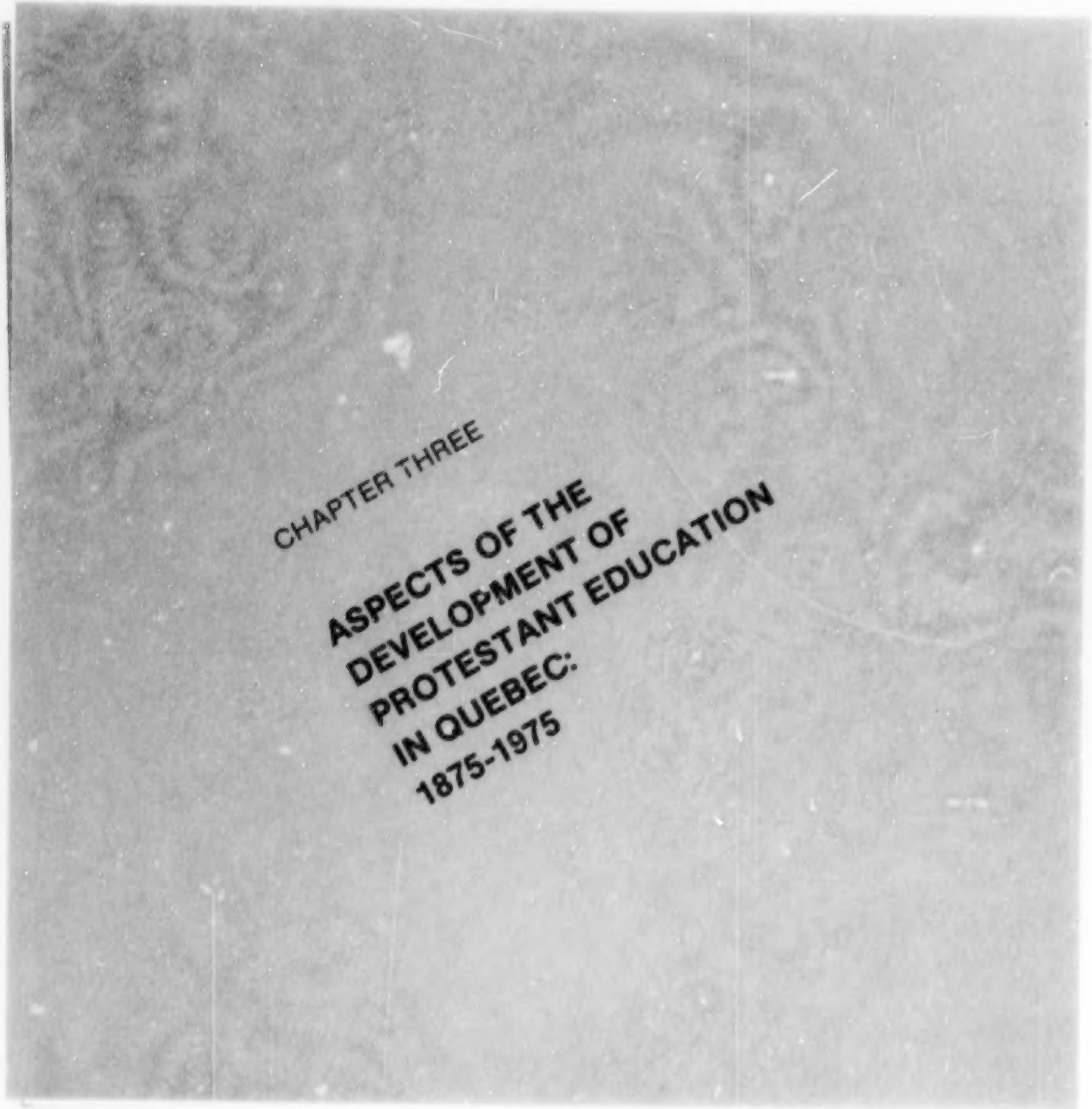
Guy Houle's study, mentioned above, also commented on the definition of "Protestant" from a juridic point of view. He took as basic the Privy Council decision of 1928 which stated:

> That the word "Protestant" in the statutes consolidated in 1861 could not be construed as "non-Catholic", and so as including Jews: and that the Protestant community, though divided for certain purposes into denominations was itself a denomination and capable of being regarded as "a class of persons" within s. 93 sub-sec. 1 of the Act of 1867.[68]

Against the decision of the Quebec Court of Appeals in the Perron case (1955) that a member of the Jehovah's Witnesses could claim to be a Protestant on the grounds that to be such it was sufficient to be a Christian and to repudiate the authority of the Pope, Houle cited the finding of the Supreme Court of Canada in the Hirsch case (1926), which held that a Protestant was "a member or an adherent of those Christian bodies which are descended from the Reformation of the 16th century."[69] Jews, Orthodox and Jehovah's Witnesses cannot be considered Protestants, Houle inferred because those religious communities were not those which severed themselves from the papal church in the sixteenth century.

This definition of Protestantism will be protested by those who view it primarily as a frame of mind or a general cultural and religious orientation to life which transcends concrete dates and particular organized churches, and which might have heirs of spiritual descent which claim no organic connection with the reforming churches of the sixteenth century.

Protestants in Quebec have carefully preserved, as we shall observe in more detail in later pages of this study, the principle of the organic separation of the school and the institutional church. The language of the B.N.A. Act which speaks of Catholics and Protestants as parallel classes of persons thus veils the very different ideas these groups possessed of the safeguards given them by the constitution, and of the implications of denominational education for themselves.



CHAPTER THREE

ASPECTS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROTESTANT EDUCATION IN QUEBEC: 1875-1975

The Protestant Committee of the Council of Public Instruction assumed, through the provisions of the education acts of 1869 and 1875, almost complete control of the general direction of Protestant education in Quebec. The Committee did not proceed to its work, however, on the basis of any explicitly defined rationale or listing of objectives; nor was the precise meaning of "Protestant school" or "Protestant education" agreed upon. Differences of opinion on the purposes of education and the strategies to be employed were resolved by discussion and by practical decisions made as problems emerged. Consequently, one should not look for complete consistency of principle in the Committee's work over the years from 1875 to the year 1964 when the old Committee was superseded. Degrees of enthusiasm about one or another of opposing views varied as the composition of the Committee changed. The same emphasis upon practical decision-making, rather than adherence to pre-set theory, characterized the work of the school boards and individual schools. The fundamental value assumptions upon which decisions were made did not receive much explicit analysis, but formed a general cultural and religious framework which identified Protestant education and distingushed it from Catholic education in Quebec.

This chapter of our study will relate something of the story of how Protestant education over the years related its operating values to the ever-changing social scene. In doing this we will be able to probe the content of the values held and the system by which priorities were discerned. The subjects which, it is believed, lend themselves most appropriately to this task are: (a) the changing views of the purposes of education, (b) the place given Jews in the Protestant system of education, and (c) the provisions for moral and religious education.

A. THE PURPOSES OF EDUCATION IN QUEBEC PROTESTANT SCHOOLS

Public school systems have seldom based themselves on a single over-riding purpose. Various more or less distinctly stated purposes of schooling have usually lived together, each one rising or falling in popularity according to the mood of the times.

We shall study the history of these purposes in Quebec Protestant education under titles which suggest the dominant motifs of education in successive periods. These are: (1) training disciplined persons, (2) transmitting the heritage of knowledge, (3) preparing for life's work, (4) developing pride in nationality, (5) building moral character, (6) encouraging democratic participation, and (7) cultivating individual potential.

1. **Training Disciplined Persons.** — Common elementary schools and "superior" schools were, by nineteenth century minds, thought scarcely comparable. The former were designed chiefly for the children of the poor or for country folk who desired training in the basic skills of

reading, writing, spelling, and figuring in order to improve their economic prospects, to raise their level of citizenship, or simply to achieve more respect in their own and their neighbours' eyes. Superior schools, which frequently provided education at the primary as well as advanced levels, used as their models the British Grammar schools or the American academies. These preserved the humanist tradition which sought to civilize boys into "gentlemen," and to have girls become "ladies." High schools and academies taught chiefly the ancient classical languages, mathematics, and, sometimes, rudimentary science. Teachers in both the common and the superior schools in 1870s were agreed, however, that the ultimate aim of education with respect to the individual was to draw out and develop the powers of the numerous "faculties" which constituted the human mind. A speaker at the 1880 convocation of the McGill Normal School, for instance, cautioned his hearers:

> Remember that neither the memory alone nor the reasoning faculty alone, not even the both of these together, important though they be, are all the faculties you have to develop. Imagination must be awakened. Taste must be developed. The whole mind must be aroused from a sleep of infancy. And not merely must every faculty be aroused, but each one must be stimulated to every kind of exertion of which it is capable."[1]

Minds and bodies were honed through exercise, whether in the classroom or the playground, so that mastery might be achieved over the self and over adverse circumstances. Moral sense, like the other "faculties," was strengthened through discipline and use. The success of schooling was manifest in the superior quality and functioning of educated persons, not in the information they had amassed. It is significant that the earliest Boards of Examiners, charged with the licensing of teachers for Quebec schools, put more stock in the testimony of moral character supplied by the candidate's clergyman and in the results of their personal interviews than in any written examination.

The ancient view of the purpose of education as the exercise and discipline of mind and body remains in Protestant schools, though it is now adapted to modern understandings of human development and of the processes of learning. It is safe to say, however, that it has never regained the priority it enjoyed before the turn of the present century.

2. **Transmitting the Heritage of Knowledge.** — Gradually, in the nineteenth century, a change took place in the popular understanding of the nature of knowledge. The age of print had conditioned people to view knowledge as something transposable to the printed page. Scientific methods of investigation had resulted in the production of a mass of data which needed to be assimilated by any who would do further research. Empirical and objective knowledge was deemed as fact or positive truth. Knowledge was something the individual "possessed" as a kind of marketable commodity, the extent of which could be measured.

At the same time Herbert Spencer in England attacked classical education, charging that it was out of touch with reality, and advocated that the schools study more science and other subjects related to the tasks of contemporary life. Spencer's influence on educational practice was remarkable. Textbooks on all kinds of modern "subjects" proliferated.

But the death-blow to the old "faculty" model of the mind seems to have been delivered, as far as Quebec was concerned, in the Herbartian revival promoted by British and American educators near the end of the century. Johann Friedrich Herbart, the German philosopher of education who lived during the early nineteenth century, taught a view of the mechanics of learning which meant for the practical educator that the child must be exposed directly to his cultural inheritance in order that he might imbibe its spirit. Through a rich diet of ideas and representations in literature, history, and works of art, (properly arranged in terms of rational organization, and of appropriateness to the child's personal and developmental needs), children could come into contact with the ennobling examples and thought of the race. The motivation solicited in the new learning method was "interest." Discipline and the development of reasoning ability were no longer the all-important aims of education. History and nature study pushed out the study of "the dead languages." Though Herbartianism attempted to deal with the burgeoning curriculum by advocating that it be regarded not as a series of separate subjects but as an inter-related whole and that time-saving correlations be made among the subjects, what remained now in fact was an additional quantity of knowledge which it was felt the child ought to assimilate for his present and future good. Character, it was believed, would develop as young minds basked in the beneficial rays of nature's light and the race's wisdom.

The implicit acceptance among practical educators of the view that education, once the basic skills were learned, was largely a matter of mastering informational content, meant that the years from 1885 to 1915 perhaps marked the apogee of the popularity of written examinations in Protestant education in Quebec. Universities required the passing of examinations on a roster of subjects before entrance to their courses could be obtained. Prospective teacher candidates were asked to write examinations on the art of teaching as well as on the many subjects of the school curriculum. External examinations were set for the various levels from the beginning of Model school (Grade V) upward. Teachers were tempted to tie themselves to textbooks, and to teach subjects with the help of old examination papers; pupils spent hours memorizing, and often cramming, those facts which they thought it might be necessary to recall in the ever-approaching examination. Personal worth, it must have appeared to many a pupil, was measured by the ability to pass examinations. The competitive spirit ("emulation") was used unsparingly as a motive to learning. The names of top students in school examinations were published in local newspapers. Persons of philanthropic mind awarded to schools and colleges sums of money to be used as prizes to stimulate and reward learning. Even A.W. Kneeland, the prominent educationist who in 1908 argued forcibly in the pages of the **Record** and within the Protestant Committee that written examinations should be more often set and marked by the pupil's teacher, thus finding an educational rather than a merely evaluative use,[2] retained an opinion that one of the chief subordinate uses of examinations was the determination of who should receive prizes. Not till 1920s was the rule of the external, written examination, and the view of education which supported it, successfully challenged.

3. **Preparing for Life's Work.** — There were, at times, rather bitter struggles between vocationalists and classicists in Quebec Protestant education. The High School of Montreal, which had commercial courses in 1870 when it came under the Protestant Board of School Commissioners but abandoned them in 1877, was in the 1890s the scene of strife as the classical curriculum came under attack. When a new building was erected after the fire of 1891 and a new rector, E. I. Rexford, appointed, a commercial department was re-instituted. The curriculum in the department was described in the **Prospectus** of 1900-01 as "an English Course, as distinguished from a Classical Course," with an object "to provide a good English Education for those who do not desire to take up the Classical or the Science Course... it omits Latin and gives special prominence to English, French and Commercial subjects throughout the **three years** over which the course extends."[3]

For Protestants of the Eastern Townships the issue was raised in the context of protests over the domination of schooling by the written examination, particularly the university-administered "finals."[4] Views were stated that practical education, such as would benefit the great majority of pupils who were to make their livings on the farm, in the shop, or at skilled trades, was sacrificed to the predilections, needs, and prejudices of those who knew only the university lectern. The trouble grew in part out of the crisis created in rural areas by the drift of young people to the city and the denuding of the country and small towns of their English-speaking inhabitants.

The cause of those who wanted more practical education in the schools was immeasurably helped by the interest of philanthropist William Macdonald, who undertook a number of projects designed to restore to young people the attractions of country life. The chief of these was the founding at Ste. Anne de Bellevue of a college for students who wished to study Agriculture or Household Science. Macdonald funds were also instrumental in creating and supporting the new School For Teachers which was established at Macdonald College in 1908 replacing the McGill Normal School. Teachers for elementary schools at least would now be educated in the environment in which many of them would give leadership. New courses of a practical nature (Agriculture, Manual Training, and Household Science) appeared on the curriculum to join Hygiene, which had been added a few years earlier. Such subjects were examined only at the local level and must have done a good deal to increase the interest and self-respect of non-academic students.

The vocational movement in Quebec Protestant education soon lost its rural romanticism. Depopulation of the rural areas, though slowed, was not stopped. The cause of practical education was taken up by those concerned with the growing industrial requirements of the province, and by educators who were desirous of holding young people in school in the hope that they might become interested in some form of further educational self-improvement.

The philosophical debate between vocationalists and humanists continued. If the former argued that "it is infinitely more important to have men who can protect our forests, our canals, and our mines, than those who can discuss the philosophy of Hegel or Kant,"[5] the reply of the latter was that "education should enable a man to live rather than earn a living."[6]

In 1931 the curriculum for Protestant schools was reformed to include at the secondary level a "General" course for students proceeding soon to trades education or to the work force, and an "Academic" curriculum for those who planned to enter university. Most students took the academic course, or "dropped out." There was, it seems, a subtle stigma on the general course marking it as an accommodation to those who were "less intelligent."[7]

Renewed attempts to deal with the needs of job-oriented students were made in the 1940s and '50s. The effect of the Compulsory Education Act in 1943 was to keep many more boys and girls at school desks. Then the return of the armed service personnel at the close of the war and the industrial boom of the fifties put further pressure upon the schools to provide "an equal opportunity for all." Much was done in Protestant schools to meet the demand, yet an academic-elitist tone remained. This was not, however, held by Protestant popular opinion to be present to the extent manifested in the Catholic schools of the province.

This picture has changed somewhat since the educational reform of the 1960s. Comprehensive high schools and CEGEPS, offering a wide variety of educational options, provide possibilities for job training and/or academic preparation for most young people in the province. But the problems remain. How can academic education be related more to the life-interests of students? How does vocational education incorporate in its program a consideration of the moral and religious dimensions of the meaning of vocation?

4. **Developing Pride in Nationality.** — Quebec Protestant schools have always considered it one of their chief aims to develop in pupils pride in nationality and loyalty to their country. For many years the focus of patriotic education was on the British Empire. The day before Victoria Day (the May 24th general holiday) was designated Empire Day. Its observance, laden year by year with national sentiment, probably loomed larger in the minds of pupils than that of Dominion Day which occurred after school had closed for the summer. Teachers and pupils knew that the British Empire spanned the globe and that its success was due to the virtues of the British character. On such grounds Miss Lillian Robins exhorted her fellow-teachers in 1898:

> Let us Canadians seek the ability and solidity of the English character; be truthful in living as in speaking, scorn the false in dress and appointments, aim at truth in public as in private life, cultivate the qualities that give the Englishman his frank and manly

> bearing. Let us not, following the example of many another race, be swamped by one phase of our environment.[8]

While some educators took quiet pride in "the mutual toleration, the sense of fair play, the readiness of all to defend each in the exercise of his individual prerogative, the profound respect for established law," which was said to be characteristic of the people who had "invented local self- government,"[9] other citizens exerted a more masterful approach to the matter:

> The Imperial Education **belongs** in every School... Teachers should become Progressive, almost **Aggressive** in their **Imperialism**. It is the most pressing necessity of our Education today.[10]

The thousands of European Jews who streamed into Montreal during the first quarter of the century met a Protestant people who, whether quiet or vocal, appeared to assume the undoubted superiority of British values and customs.

After the Statute of Westminster of 1931 was passed and the Empire yielded to the British Commonwealth of Nations, there was a notable shift of emphasis in schools to things Canadian. Canadian history, literature, and civics were taken more seriously and continued to form an important part of the curriculum. Patriotic education no longer evinced the sentimental and uncritical character of the British days. Most educators in Protestant schools probably approved the point of view of W.O. Rothney, professor of Education at Bishop's and member of the Protestant Committee, who wrote in 1934:

> I wonder if we realize fully that it is not unquestioned support that constitutes loyalty, but critical analysis, acquisition of facts, acquaintance with issues, weighing evidence and reasoned convictions that enable a citizen to make his loyalty effective;
>
> While we teach our pupils respect for the law, we must also teach them that only insofar as laws are just have they any claim to respect, and that it devolves upon the citizens themselves to ensure that the laws of their country are respectable.
>
> Train pupils in right attitudes toward minorities. They must learn that it is not always right for a majority to do anything that the constitution permits. They should learn that minorities are valuable, and should be treated with respect... the greatest reforms in the past originated in the minds of minorities...[11]

The identification with Quebec was experienced by pupils in the Protestant schools of the province not so much in attention to the history, literature, and civics of Quebec, which was often minimal, but in the expectation placed upon them of acquiring some facility in French conversation. This has been a concern of Protestant educators since 1886.[12] The success of these efforts depended much upon the attitudes to the task taken by particular school communities.

5. **Building Moral Character.** — Canadian citizens in the years following the first World War were unanimous, with respect to public education, at one point. There must be a better moral education in the schools. A National Conference on Character Education, sponsored by business leaders, met in Winnipeg in 1919 and passed resolutions concerning "the necessity for deepening and strengthening of the moral and spiritual factors in our National Education."[13] In particular, the conference drew attention to such evils as "the prevailing emphasis on competition methods in industry and commerce" and the "perversion of motive resulting from undue regard to the rewards of work as compared with interest in the service rendered" and called for "the practice of cooperative effort both in team-games and in class-work."[14] The stated objectives of a second such conference in 1922 were:

> To stimulate a Dominion-wide interest in Education as a means of life, and not for the purpose of livelihood, to demonstrate the need for a re-statement of values and to seek the removal of the emphasis now placed on the material aspects of life, of (sic) the almost complete neglect of the spiritual.[15]

In Quebec, Protestant teachers pressured authorities for greater attention to moral instruction and citizenship training,[16] and the Protestant Committee guided by men such as E.I. Rexford and, later, W.O. Rothney attempted to fashion programmes to meet this need. A statement by the Protestant Committee in 1934, declared that "...Character Building and preparation for useful citizenship are the primary objects of our Educational system,"[17] and articles in the **Educational Record** during the thirties and forties showed how moral and religious education could take place through the teaching of literature, history, geography, arithmetic and even chemistry. Concerning the latter, it was said:

> We can demonstrate in many ways that the most worthwhile things in life cannot be weighed and measured, cannot be subjected to the analysis of science.[18]

The character education movement in Quebec Protestant schools was merged in and finally engulfed by the progressivism which so closely accompanied it. Still, as late as 1944, G.W. Hewson of West Hill High School, could enumerate the aims of Protestant education in succinct fashion as:

> The evolution of a self-controlled individual, an understanding of the laws of nature, an appreciation of the privileges and responsibilities of an organized society and faith in God...[19]

This was not far from the vision maintained by Rexford and Rothney.

6. **Encouraging Democratic Participation.** — In 1913 the editor of **The Educational Record** commented favourably on the new educational philosophy of John Dewey and gave it as his opinion that "in moral training and instruction the teacher must have in mind the welfare of society as a whole. The school must be a miniature society."[20] After the war Deweyism

began to percolate through Quebec Protestant education. E.C. Woodley, in 1924, chided teachers who assumed "the exalted position of an instructor rather than the far nobler one of fellow-seeker." He recommended, that since "the school is a social unit...a microcosm...," teachers should appeal constantly "not to individuals as such but to the class as a whole" and "attempt to make the class feel a responsibility toward its weaker members."[21] After W.P. Percival became Director of Protestant Education in 1930 progressivistic ideas became almost normative. Percival strongly promoted the "Enterprise Method" of education, in which pupils co-operated on a project of interest, doing their own research and constructing a programme of action with the judicious help of the teacher. It was "learning by doing" and was said to develop such attitudes as "the desire to find out for one's self," "Critical-mindedness," "Tolerance and Responsibility," "Appreciation of the contributions of others...and of good workmanship," "Creative Self-expression," "Willingness to Co-operate," and "Sympathy...towards the under-privileged, the foreigner and others."[22] Another mark of progressivism was the importance given to student councils.

Progressivists found it very difficult to live with the rigid examination system of Protestant schools. Rothney as a school inspector in 1928 had written in one of his reports:

> Improvement...is perhaps not to be expected under our present examination system. Nevertheless, sooner or later, we must abandon the idea that the school is primarily an assemblage of classes where subjects are being taught, and, instead, come to look upon the school as a place where growing human beings assemble for a portion of their current, wholesome living, and for getting advice, guidance, practice and momentum for a continuance of that wholesome living while out of school.[23]

Rothney's opposition to examinations derived from his conviction that "competition as a law of life has failed."[24] Giving grades to individuals in co-operative projects was considered mis-educative by progressivists. Percival opined, however, that exams would probably continue for some time; the point was to make better educational use of them.

The effect of progressivist ideals on new Protestant schools erected during the building boom after World War II was marked. Gymnasiums, kitchens, lounges, provisions for athletics, all testified that the school was to reflect life as a whole and was to be, itself, a community. Much of this influence was due to Percival who, in his book **Life in School**, observed:

> School buildings are the outward and visible signs of the inward and spiritual interest that each community takes in its children.[25]

Progressive Education in the Protestant schools of Quebec died (at least as a flag-waving "cause") in the 1950s. It was attacked by parents and educators who felt that the basics were being neglected; by commentators who wrote that the schools were offering "so little for the mind"[26] and by university people who said that students were not being adequately prepared for university. Cyril James, Principal of McGill University, advocated a better selection process to identify the "superior students" who should receive grants to attend university. "Biology is not democratic, and no pattern of education can be all things to all men,"[27] James reasoned. It was plain that Progressivism had to go. It had presumed too easily that social transformation lay within the reach of man's engineering and that education could accomplish it.

The 1957 **Handbook for Teachers** listed eight principles which were to guide teachers in fulfilling the aims of education. That which related to "character and citizenship" is found in eighth (and last) place, preceded by those which spoke of "a mastery of the fundamental tools of learning" (number one), "aspects of human thought and knowledge which the [teacher] considers to be important and valuable," training in the "processes of logical thought," and others.[28]

7. **Cultivating Individual Potential.**— The Quebec statutes providing for the ministère de l'Education and the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation have identical preambles which include the statement that" ...every child is entitled to the advantage of a system of education conducive to the full development of his personality...."[29] The images conjured up by this statement derive from contemporary theories of mental health and personality development. Today teachers are often reminded that they must consider "the whole person" and that the child should be made to feel secure and adequate in the classroom if his or her innate potential is to blossom. It is usually assumed that bad habits and attitudes derive from poor education or from some unnatural blockage in the development of the personality. Good education is expected to draw out the inner core of health in the individual. A Conseil supérieur de l'éducation study "Educational Activity," published in 1970, contrasted the "organic" and the "mechanical" models of education and elaborated on the basic assumptions of the organic model:

> The student possesses within himself the principal resources necessary to his growth, development, orientation and choices. He is capable of initiative, autonomy, personal decision, and active participation in his learning process...[30]

In the following year a Conseil supérieur report commented on the implications of this model of education for teaching:

> From this evolves a pedagogy where the emphasis is placed on **creativity** and **self-evaluation**, in short on the **taking over by the student of the responsibility** of his own education...[31]

The pedagogical theory reflected and enunciated in the **Parent Report**, sometimes called "the activist" approach to education, assumes this "organic" model.

Views of education based on the dynamics of human development described in modern personality theories have been popular in Quebec

Protestant education at least since the early fifties, when schools were confronted by a chorus of voices calling for more attention to the development of the individual. The corollary to individual wholeness was "respect for individual differences," and the latter became a slogan of the schools. Classes were developed to accommodate fast learners as well as the slow; the "underachiever" and the "overachiever" had to be recognized; suburban and slum children came from different contexts, and that had to be taken into individual account; the handicapped required special provision and attention; French Protestants must have the opportunity to receive education in their own language. A guidance counsellor was said to be needed for each high school and the duties of this individual were now directed not only to helping students with vocational decisions, but to counselling them in regard to their personal emotional problems and individual developmental tasks. The P.A.P.T. Curriculum Committee (an important power in the formulation of the course of study in Protestant schools) thought that options ought to be provided not only in the curriculum as a whole but within each subject in order to provide for differences in students.[12] The Protestant Committee became interested in the idea of "subject promotion." Many schools experimented with it, and adopted the practice. By 1962, it may be presumed, teachers, weary with relating individually, well understood what was meant by the advocates of teaching machines and programmed texts when it was said:

> The machine or programmed text moves forward to the next step only when the pupil is ready, not when the teacher thinks the pupil is ready.
>
> Learning is a very personal, internal process and no teacher, no matter how gifted, can learn for his pupils.
>
> The programme has infinite patience; its lesson is always prepared and it is never out of sorts or tired. These characteristics are not common to all teachers...[13]

Today, programmes based on the behaviourist view of learning with its emphasis upon the importance of 'conditioning' and 're-inforcement' increasingly challenge the dominance of the old humanist-developmental idea of education as a "shaping" or "a drawing out" process.

The 1979 **Plan d'action** of the Québec ministère de l'Education appears, however, to retain the humanist ideal. Its "finalités" with respect to individual development state that:

> L'éducation au Québec vise à développer la personne dans toutes ses dimensions: la personne est corps, intelligence, affectivité. Elle a une dimension sociale. Dans son existence, elle intègre une morale et, très souvent, une religion.
>
> L'éducation au Québec veut favoriser, par la création d'un milieu éducatif équilibré, l'épanouissement d'une personnalité créatrice.

> L'éducation au Québec entend assurer le développement d'une personne qui aspire à l'autonomie, à la liberté et au bonheur, et qui a besoin d'aimer et d'être aimée, qui est ouverte à la transcendance.
>
> L'éducation au Québec considère la personne comme un être social en rapport étroit avec une collectivité et des groupes enracinés dans une histoire commune et dans une culture particulière.[34]

Our study of the purposes of education in Quebec Protestant schools has revealed a plurality of aims, shaping and re-shaping themselves through the decades in the images required by contemporary societies. The lack of acceptance, for any lengthy period, of a single over-riding purpose is perhaps testimony to the Protestant penchant for continually reopening life's profoundest questions for further exploration.

The task, always pressing, of communicating desired values in Protestant schools has perhaps saved the practical-vocationalist from drifting into shallow waters and the academic-humanist from drowning in fathomless ideals. While ancient debates must go on, there are today's students to think of. How are they to be helped to create a society built on a basis of mutual trust in which communication amongst persons is maintained, exploration of the truth is carried forward, and learning takes place in a climate conducive to growth? Trust is possible only when there is some assurance that persons normally act not out of self-interest alone but from a concern for truth and for the promotion of justice and the ultimate welfare of all. Through the years Protestant education maintained its coherence as its various purposes were nourished and kept in perspective by principles deep in its identity, which survived many a passing fad and fashion.

B. THE PLACE OF JEWS IN A PROTESTANT EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Protestants in Quebec welcomed the first Jewish children into their schools without question. Acceptance continued, though with somewhat less enthusiasm, even after the first great wave of Jewish immigration to Montreal began to fill certain schools with children whose parents paid no taxes, thus creating financial problems. Protestants felt, no doubt, a responsibility to help in the induction of new citizens into the languages, mores, and general culture of their adopted land. By an act of 1870, persons of the Jewish faith owning real estate in Montreal or Quebec City were granted the right to pay their taxes into either the Protestant or Catholic "panels." Jewish children could attend any public school since all were "common." Many chose Protestant schools. Facility in the English language gave economic prospects; in addition, Protestant schools appealed to them because they were more non-denominational in spirit than their Catholic counterparts. A conscience clause, included in 1888, in the Protestant school regulations allowed parents to claim exemption for their children from Protestant religious services and studies.

In 1903 an act of the Quebec legislature, reflecting an agreement reached by Protestants and Jews in Montreal with respect to schooling, declared that Jews were to be considered Protestants for the purposes of education and that they were to have equal rights and privileges. Jewish taxes were to be placed in the Protestant panel. It was understood, however, that there would be no change in "the distinctive religious character and constitution"[35] of the Protestant Public School system.

However, problems very soon presented themselves. Protestants had not counted on the strength of the continuing immigration of Jews from Eastern Europe, which flooded many Montreal schools in the first quarter of the century. They thought it unfair that a minority should be expected to bear the heavy additional cost of educating Jewish children.[36] For this and other reasons, the Protestant Board of School Commissioners found itself, in 1922, in serious financial difficulty. A government bill relieved the situation by providing the Commission with additional financial resources from the neutral panel. A second problem was in the pedagogical sphere. The frequency of Jewish holidays was said to leave Protestant children marking time scholastically at periods during the school year. The large number of foreign children, it was said, lowered the value of some schools as institutions for Protestant education; moreover, it was difficult to make arrangements for religious education in classes so mixed.[37] The Protestant Board's solution to these problems was to group Jewish children in a few shcools. Jews bitterly resented these segregation tactics. For some years Jewish teachers were also segregated, most of them being employed at the Baron de Hirsch all-Jewish school for immigrants; but, in 1913, the board formulated a policy allowing Jewish women teachers in Protestant schools as long as principals made suitable provision for religious education of Protestants by a Protestant.

On their side Jews began to make repeated attempts to attain representation (then designated partly by the City Council and partly by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council) on the Protestant School Commission of Montreal which their taxes supported. Was it not right that they should participate in important decisions affecting Jewish children? Had not the law of 1903 promised them full citizens' rights in education? But they were met with negative responses from the Commission and from a large section of the Protestant population. Such a concession, it was argued, would establish a precedent which could, in time, endanger the Protestant character and mandate of Protestant schools.[38] Other non-Protestant — non-Catholic groups were now also demanding education rights. If Protestants were not vigilant they would lose control of their fine schools, which they had laboured so long and hard to raise to a position of envied excellence!

A movement aimed at questioning the constitutionality of the 1903 law developed among Protestants. An education bill of 1922 provided that the Act of 1903 could be repealed after July 1, 1923. This gave Protestants and Jews time to reach some new terms of agreement. But the situation was now made even more complex by divisions of sentiment about schooling in the Jewish community. Some nationalist and religiously conservative Jewish groups pressed for Jewish schools, while the "uptown" Jews supported the idea of continuing to work with the Protestant system, but with representation. Discussions between Protestants and Jews having ended in a stalemate, the provincial legislature in 1924 appointed a commission to investigate the whole matter and to make recommendations. The Commission was also unable to effect any agreement between the parties. They recommended that an appeal to the courts be encouraged so that a judgment could be rendered upon the constitutionality of the act of 1903. A petition, drawn up by certain Jewish leaders, was delivered to the Court of King's Bench (Appeal side). The answer proving unsatisfactory to the appellants, the petition was then sent to the Supreme Court of Canada. When the Supreme Court had made its judgment in "the Hirsch case" the appeal was forwarded to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. These two higher courts were in basic agreement that, though Jewish children had legal rights to attend any except dissentient schools, the school boards of Montreal and Quebec being by law denominational and protected under section 93 of the B.N.A. Act, could not seat other than Catholic or Protestant commissioners.

Jews did gain one thing from those court decisions: an official confirmation of their right to form a school commission of their own. A Jewish school commission was created in 1930 by the legislature, but then, according to David Rome who has carefully collected and studied the documents connected with the Jewish school question:

> Having named the School Commission, the government proceeded to exert irresistible pressure upon its memebers not to exercise the right of setting up their own schools, but, instead, to enter into a contract with the Protestant Board for the education of the Jewish children.[39]

In 1930-31 the Jewish School Commission, the Montreal Protestant Board of School Commissioners, and the School Trustees of the City of Outremont (Protestant) entered into agreements which made the necessary financial arrangements and which allowed Jewish children, parents, teachers and citizens every right and consideration except that of sitting on Protestant school boards. The provincial government enacted enabling legislation which also limited the powers of the Jewish school commission to that of negotiating agreements thus effectively discouraging any attempt that might be made by Jews to establish their own confessional schools. This concordat proved relatively satisfactory and was extended automatically beyond the originally contracted term. Every effort was made by Protestant authorities to accommodate Jewish feelings and interests in the matter of moral and religious instruction.

In 1938, the Hepburn Report, commissioned by the Protestant Committee, presented recommendations based on a survey of Protestant education, which included a proposal that a popularly elected school board be instituted in Montreal. But the recommendation was turned down by the Committee. One of the reasons given for this was the threat Jewish participation would pose to the Protestant character of the schools.[40]

Opinion, however, had altered sufficiently by 1965 to allow the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal to sustain a quota of five permanent Jewish seats. The old P.S.B.G.M. (which included the Montreal School Commission in its membership) was dissolved in 1972 by the law which restructured school boards on the Island of Montreal. A new elective P.S.B.G.M. was created. But before this happened, Jews received from government legislation, in 1971, full rights to vote and to run for election to school board seats.

Recommendations have also been made by the Comité protestant on a number of occasions since 1970 urging the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation to appoint Jewish membership to the Committee. These recommendations have not been approved by the parent body. The reluctance of the Conseil to adopt such a measure may be explained by its desire to maintain a clear concept of confessionality and uncertainty about the terms on which non-confessional education is to be conducted in the province.[41] A member of the Eastern Orthodox church has, however, participated in the membership of the Protestant Committee representing parents.

The questions may be asked: what underlay the rejection by Protestants of Jewish attempts to share in the decision-making processes in Protestant education? And what changes made it possible for Protestants in the present generation to approve the extension of rights to Jews?

The answer to these questions must begin by observing the close connection assumed by earlier generations to exist between "Christian" (and in much of North America, "Protestant") beliefs and values and those held to be normative for society as a whole. Christianity and civilization were identified. The Honourable Judge C.D. Day speaking the opening of Molson Hall at McGill University in 1862 declared concerning "civilization" that "its mission and end have been to transmute the brutal naked savage into the educated, polite Christian man."[42] Few Protestants of his time would have disagreed with Day. Nor perhaps would there have been overwhelming dissent in the 1920s.

Protestants in the twenties still assumed that Protestantism was normative in defining the non-Catholic sphere of civilization in Quebec. The social situation in a strongly Catholic province had resulted also in Protestants retaining a confessional basis for the control of their public school system. Thus Bishop Farthing spoke for many before the investigative commission of 1924 when he said:

> We feel if our children are to be taught the Christian religion and are to have the Christian atmosphere of life around them, they must have Christian teachers ... If those who are not Christians send their children to our schools, I think those children should have that education which we are able to give them, but those who send them should not have any power or influence that would destroy the power of the Board to preserve the character of the children of the schools ... It is one thing to be generous; it is another to consent to our being strangled ...[43]

Elsewhere, the Bishop openly expressed his view that a weakening of Christian influence in the schools would inevitably undermine "the civilization based on the Christian religion."[44]

Dr. Ernest Best, Professor of Christian Education at McGill, may be taken as an example of those Protestants who represented a different point of view. Best was for removing all denominational barriers. He argued that this would lead to "the assimilation of our national ideals of citizenship, culture and ethics" since "common schools are the greatest solvents yet discovered for our hereditary social divisions."[45]

But Best's arguments, though cogent to many idealistic Protestants, perhaps did not allow for the distinctiveness of Quebec on the North American scene or for the realities of political power in the province. Protestants had considerable authority over their own schools but very little over the disposition of education in Quebec. Moreover the social fabric of Quebec had been constructed precisely to protect the two dominant cultures (each viewing itself as an endangered minority) from assimilation. A mosaic rather than a melting-pot model of intercultural relations was normative. In Ontario, as in the United States, Jews could be absorbed relatively easily into the prevailing anglo-saxon and Protestant culture, but in Quebec such a large minority as the Jews had become within the anglophone community posed a threat to the dominant British and Protestant character of the group, itself a minority. The self-preservative instincts of the "English" minority, always alert, dominated the Jewish-Protestant debate in Quebec during the first half of the twentieth century. The assumptions of a "Christian" era, which in Quebec made Protestantism and Britishness normative (and linked them) for the non-Catholic population, helped to determine the structure and character of Protestant education.

These conditions have now changed. The close identification of religious faith and culture has been dissipated by the increasingly pluralistic nature of society, and by the necessity this has created of society's finding bases of unity broader than those which religion seemed to define. The general Protestant population in Quebec in the 1960s and 1970s no longer thought of their schools as having a mandate to promote "British" character or even a nominal Protestantism. Moral and religious instruction (of the old style) was given in some schools and certain of them still opened with a religious-patriotic service of worship, but these practices in most schools (particularly in Montreal) had fallen into disuse or were mere formalities. A large community of Jews, now unmistakably anglicized, formed an integral part of a community which tended to be shaped and defined by the common use of the English language. The Hebrew people were no longer a threat to the values of the Protestant population. They were certainly now no financial burden upon the school system.

There had also been radical changes in the self-conception of Protestants. Protestant thinkers, returning to a study of the Biblical roots of Protestant thought, gave a new prophetic role to the church vis-à-vis social norms, and discovered that Jews and Protestants held many of their profoundest religious and moral values in common.[46] Far from wishing to have their children protected by some assumed "Christian" environment in school, many Protestant parents were now inclined to see the pluralist school as an opportunity for their children to learn from those who held different beliefs, and to establish bases for mutual understanding and co-operation. Would not they all together be responsible for the community, nation and world of the future? The nature of moral and religious instruction in Protestant schools had also changed, centering more than before on common human issues and problems and on an objective study of various religious beliefs and literature. While a great many Jewish children now attended private Jewish schools, the majority remained in the public school system they shared with Protestants. Many Jews and Protestants now agreed that the home and community of faith must be responsible for the development of the religious identity of the growing person, but that the public schools had a role in helping students face broad moral and spiritual questions and in teaching and enforcing the general moral values required for effective citizenship. All this meant that there was little question among most Protestants in the 1970s that Jews should have full powers as members of Protestant educational institutions and should share in the decision-making.

C. PROVISIONS FOR MORAL AND RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION

Basic Protestant beliefs were, for the most part, implicit rather than explicit factors in the decisions made by the Protestant Committee and by Protestant school boards. Secondary values were more often discussed. Virtues such as initiative, a sense of responsibility, bravery, obedience to authority, the spirit of inquiry, patriotism, kindness and care for the less fortunate were to be learned, it was felt, largely from the example of the teacher who might also at times tell stories reinforcing these values. But each subject of the curriculum (history, literature arithmetic, nature study, etc.), as well as the study of the Bible itself, was thought to offer opportunities for the inculcation of moral and religious principles.

From the earliest beginnings of Protestant education in Quebec, however, neither public opinion nor legal code permitted this important aspect of education to be dealt with only indirectly and incidentally. We may conveniently survey the history of explicit programmes in moral and religious instruction in Quebec Protestant schools by discerning four periods distinguished according to the use made of their basic textbook, the English Bible. These were (1) the early years, in which the Bible was regarded as the chief classbook in morals and religion, (2) the liberal-critical stage, in which the use of the "whole" Bible was replaced by excerpts selected for their moral teaching, (3) a post-liberal phase, in which a religious as well as moral use of the Biblical material was admitted, (4) the contemporary period, in which the objective study of the Bible constitutes an indispensable element of a comprehensive course in moral and religious instruction.

1. **The Bible as Moral and Religious Text.** — The 1846 education act stipulated that the choice of texts for the study of religion and morals in

the elementary schools was the prerogative of the local curé or minister. The matter was, for superior schools, decided by the local boards on which clergymen almost always sat. This power given local authorities to determine the nature of moral and religious instruction meant that the coverage of the subject varied greatly from school to school. The same was true of the superior schools. The High School of Montreal taught Scripture History for years as part of its regular course.[47] Other schools neglected the subject.

By the early 1880s the Protestant Committee had obtained some academic jurisdiction not only over elementary schools but most Protestant superior schools as well, the latter having now to depend upon the Committee for a recommendation concerning the allocation of the government grant. The Committee thus approved a course of study for schools drawn up by E.I. Rexford, which included suggestions for moral and religious instruction. Space in the timetable was accorded "readings and short talks (at least once a week) upon Godliness, Truthfulness, Honour, Respect for Others, Good Manners, Temperance and Kindness to Animals."[48] Oral lessons on "Scripture History" were suggested for elementary and model schools and for the first year of academy studies. Scripture was given a place in the time allotted to history.

In 1885 the authority to choose textbooks for the teaching of morals and religion in the Protestant public schools was placed with the Protestant Committee. Local clergy were left only with visiting rights which implied a continued supervisory role of a kind in the local school. The reasons for the change were expressed in the Committee's advice to the government on the matter:

> Protestants are composed of many different and independent creeds and denominations, and consequently...it would be impossible for any one officiating minister to represent them in the matter of religious instruction in the Common Schools... the School Law becomes altogether inoperative and inapplicable... in all cases where more than one officiating Minister resides in such municipality.[49]

The Protestant Committee represented more centralized control. Since the major denominations were always represented on the Committee, differences could be easily discussed and compromises made.

The Committee did not, however, lose sight of the principle of the right of parents to determine the moral and religious education of their children. Its decision with respect to the text to be used for moral and religious education[50] and its provision for freedom of conscience were displayed together in the regulations for schools published in 1888.

> Religious instruction shall be given in all public schools, but no person shall require any pupil in any public school to read in or study from any religious book, or to join any exercise of devotion or religion, objected to in writing by his or her parents or guardians.

> Every Protestant school shall be opened each day with the reading of a portion of the Holy Scriptures, followed by the Lord's Prayer.
>
> In all grades of Protestant schools, instruction shall be given in Biblical History, and the Holy Scriptures shall for such purposes be used as a text-book, but no denominational teaching shall be given in such schools.[51]

The 1890 timetable for elementary schools allotted Scripture history and moral education (including Rexford's list of virtues, which, with the later addition of "Health" or "Hygiene or Cleanliness", was used as late as 1928) to the first half-hour of each school day with the opening exercices. The model school and academy timetables of the same year omitted the notation about moral education but included Scripture history. Later schedules suggested Scripture up to the first year of academy only.

In the 1890s the study of Scripture history was examined at the academy level and counted as one of the preliminary subjects towards the Associate of Arts certificate or school leaving diploma. But after 1899 and well into the 1920s examinations in Scripture were confined to the middle school level (modern grades 5, 6, and 7). These were set by the Inspector of Superior schools and examiners appointed by the Protestant Committee. Teachers evaluated some of these papers, but the marking of the highest level Scripture examination was the entire responsibility of the inspector and examiners who published a general annual report of the results.

Candidates for teachers' licences were, for many years, subjected to an examination in Scripture set by the Central Board of Examiners.[52] Normal school students were required by the regulations of the Protestant Committee in 1899, and as late as the 1950s, to attend a class of religious instruction given after school hours by a clergyman of their denomination, and to attend at least one service of worship on Sundays. Jewish students were not exempted from this requirement.

The syllabi in Scripture drawn up by the Protestant Committee during the next forty years all presumed that pupils and teachers had at hand the "unadulterated Bible". The 1894 syllabus provided coverage of all the "history" in the Bible. The Testaments were to be read concurrently and each in chronological order. Old Testament passages took the pupil from Genesis to the return from exile of the Jews, but excluded the prophetic and poetic books; the New Testament readings were in the Gospels and Acts. Much memory work was to be assigned. However, teachers protested this "load", and in 1896 the syllabus was simplified and the memory work reduced. The revision of the syllabus in 1915 sought to emphasize the "story" element in Scripture and built largely on the biographies of Jesus and other Old and New Testament characters. The International Graded Sunday School lessons were used on a basis for the syllabus but grades II to V effectively studied only the Old Testament and grades V to VIII only the New Testament. Montreal schools retained until 1930 the spirit of the 1915 revision, freedom being allowed to adapt the curriculum to local needs. But rural schools preferred that the study of the Testaments be concurrent and a syllabus providing for this was drawn up and used through the 1920

During this period the Bible was used in Quebec Protestant schools as the authoritative source of moral and general religious principles. Other books were, from time to time, named for "optional use": G.F. Maclear's Biblical histories in the 1890s, and the **Jamaica Catechism** from 1905 to 1915.[53] The regulations of the Protestant Committee indeed permitted the Holy Scriptures and the authorized text-books.[54] But Maclear's texts were based solely on Biblical material, while the Jamaica Catechism was rejected in 1915 by a deliberate decision of the Committee. From 1915 until recent years only the Bible was used for moral and religious instruction in Quebec Protestant Schools.

But the Bible was, in fact, used more for moral than religious purposes. J. M. Harper, Chief inspector of Superior schools from 1886 to 1905 believed, for instance, in "the systematic training of the moral nature." He advocated the use by teachers of what he called "moral drill" and in his visits to schools he would drill students in "the Ten Commandments and the principles of the Sermon of the Mount"[55] believing that this would shape their moral faculties. The next generation felt that it was more effective to interest pupils and to have them imbibe "the **thought, sentiment** or **soul** of the selection to be learned."[56] This approach had the possibility, perhaps of encouraging the use of the Bible to open up vision, instill wonder, and stimulate inquiry, but that does not seem to have happened. Increasingly, in the first decades of the twentieth century the Bible was used in schools to enforce rules of personal behaviour such as honesty, obedience, industry, and respect for property. Morality, it was thought, could be taught by memorizing Bible passages and events. It was on this basis that critics in the twenties were to criticize the use of the Bible as a school textbook.

2. **Criticism of the Use of the Bible in Schools.** — In 1922, W.O. Rothney, then school inspector in an area of the Eastern Townships, published in a book, **Character Education in the Elementary School**[57] the results of his research into the use of the Bible for moral education in Quebec schools. He claimed that the Bible as taught, far from furthering moral ideals in pupils, militated against moral improvement. He could find little sign, after testing many pupils, that there was a link between the morning Bible study and the growth of moral character in children. And this was not surprising, Rothney felt. Was not the Bible primarily an adult book, unsuitable as it stood, for children? Moreover, teachers were not trained to use it effectively; they had little notion of the Bible as the record of "a progressive development in moral ideals."[58] Rothney added:

> The fact that 75 per cent of the teachers treat the early Genesis stories as literal fact is sufficient to drive intelligent parents to take refuge in the conscience clause which the law provides and request that their children be exempt from the study of the Bible in school. The attempts which some teachers are making to harmonize the moral ideals of the Old Testament with that of the New is nothing short of tragic. What a new light would illuminate the whole situation for them if they could approach the Old Testament as the history and literature of a people who had a genius for religion, and to whom God was revealing himself as their capacity to apprehend Him developed.[59]

Modern scolarship had discredited, for some, the old literalistic interpretation of the Bible. For Rothney and many of his contemporaries, the power of the Bible lay not in its moral sanctions but in the ideals it depicted. Religion was closely associated with social responsibility and with the mission to create a better, more democratic world. Morality was learned not from the memorization of Biblical facts but in the context of living situations and relationships. The Bible inspired the noblest ideals and this was how it was to be used. Ernest Best and others added their voices to Rothney's. In 1924, Best publicly criticized the moral and religious instruction being given in Montreal schools which, he said, reflected a policy "contrary to the carefully considered... pronouncement of... Protestant bodies co-operating as the Religious Education Council of Canada."[60] These criticisms had a telling effect upon the provisions for moral and religious education in the Protestant schools of Quebec. In 1931, after preliminary changes the previous year, a complete revision of the syllabus was authorized. Now, not the Bible itself but a book of Biblical extracts, entitled **Bible Readings for Schools**, carefully selected for their teaching of approved values, was to be employed in the schools.

A comparison of the moral ideals exalted in the 1931 syllabus with those mentioned in earlier manuals will, perhaps, clarify for us the direction moral education had taken. The 1907 Teacher's Manual had declared:

> Teachers should not injure children by being consciences for them. Pupils must not think it is the teacher's duty at all times to point out the right and to restrain them from going wrong. Teach them to depend upon themselves, and strive to cultivate in them the desire to decide questions of right or wrong on their merits and to act in accordance with their decisions.[61]

The "right" attitudes listed in the manuals before the thirties included obedience, truthfulness, good temper, honesty, punctuality, perseverance, industry, politeness, self-control, moral courage, self-respect and self-denial. But in 1931 the syllabus of stories from Scripture, topically arranged except that Grades VI and VII were to study **The Gospel of Mark** and "Early Christian Heroes", suggested the virtues of helpfulness, gratitude, doing good, trusting, learning, and seeking. The 1931 advice to teachers with respect to reading the Bible stories was:

> The stories should be so constructed and presented that the good, and not the evil, will be emphasized. Make the right so pleasing that the child will feel impelled to imitate it. Be natural, use simple language, make clear statements, delight in the story and in the telling of it.[62]

The earlier moral code portrayed a demanding God and an individualist Man. God declared his promises of blessing and his threats of punishment in the Bible; the individual must acquire discipline because he alone was finally responsible for his life before his Maker. To fulfill his calling he must labour with all diligence, face hardships heroically, and win the respect of the world. But by 1931 God had become democratic! He sought to appeal to man's better nature. Arbitrariness and authoritarianism were linked, and regarded as marks of immaturity. If allowed, men and women of every race and rank, working co-operatively would create a rational, kindly world in which there would be no more injustice — a world in which all cared and shared. Both sets of concepts are found in the Bible and are native to Protestantism. But each age selected and mirrored the values that contemporary life seemed to require.

3. **The Bible as Literature and as Religious Text.** — The 1931 course in Moral and Religious Instruction for elementary schools remained current, with minor revisions, for twenty-six years. But in the early years of the Second World War, a movement developed which sought to institute more explicit moral and religious education in the high schools, which for many years had lacked a coherent program."[63]

The perfect world order hoped for in the decades between the world wars had failed to materialize. Sobering insights concerning the intractability of human nature, the recognition of the pervasiveness of "demonic" forces in the world, and disillusionment with optimistic views of social progress brought home to citizens of the Western world the need to plumb more profoundly the Jewish-Christian foundations of its culture and system of values. Fresh consideration of the sources of values was required in order that society might assess what had happened and might map out more realistic strategies for the future. In particular, there was need, it was felt, that the youth who would be decision-makers in the post-war world should be aware of the fundamental spiritual values of their heritage.

Teachers in the Montreal area were the first to promote the idea of including the study of the Bible in the course in English literature given in the high schools. The plan had the virtue of recognizing the English Bible as a literary masterpiece and as a major source of the language, ideas, and ideals that were considered basic to Western civilization without adding an extra subject to the curriculum.

Thus, in 1942, a program was initiated which provided, within the prescribed English Literature course for Grades VIII to XI, studies of the Old and New Testament. One study which achieved particular fame was the study of the Book of Job at the grade eleven level.[64] The Bible-in-Literature programme remained popular in some schools for years, and it gave W.P. Percival, Director of Protestant Education, grounds to affirm in a speech in 1954:

> In Quebec one aspect of our philosophy stands out more markedly than it does in any other province namely, its distinctive moral and religious aspect. Our schools are founded upon religion, and though this is not stressed as much as some of us would like in all classrooms, the fact is that our philosophy of education does make provision for the teacher to explain the moral and religious foundations of our civilization, the love of God, the copying of the examples of Jesus Christ and his disciples, the **reading** of the Bible and the importance of **upright character** in personal and national life.[65]

> is because the belief of the believer, — belongs to the religious phenomenon. And this belief cannot be understood except by a certain kind of participation.[36]

Ninian Smart too questions whether a religious faith can be understood without acceptance of it. He has pointed out that to do adequate justice to an understanding of a religion one should participate in all its dimensions: doctrinal, mythological, ethical, ritual, experiential, and social.[37]

Does this mean that the learner can comprehend a faith only by commitment to it? Perhaps, yes. But there may be degrees of commitment. It is possible that one can learn much from an imaginative participation in the religion without a final life-commitment to it. Smart has suggested that even as a reader of a novel is able to achieve some empathy for a character in it, without giving up his objectivity, so one's own personal commitment may be "bracketed" while a new possibility is explored.[38] Philip Phenix of Columbia Teachers College also believes that the road to the study of religions lies neither in the old assumption of a scientific or neutral objectivity, nor through indoctrination (where the critical judgment is totally suspended), but in a concept of objectivity which employs the imagination as a legitimate guide to truth:

> No teaching, no educative activity, in any school ought to be indoctrinative, but should be based upon evidence and fair-minded inquiry rather than upon subjective opinion or special pleading. Knowledge in education properly conceived is everybody's knowledge, in the public domain. But "objective" does not mean value-free, abstracted from the domain of human interest. It is better understood as **disciplined intersubjectivity**. To be objective is to enter into the subjectivity of persons other than one-self in a disciplined way. It betokens a person's capacity to enter imaginatively into the position of another.[39]

Much of the debate in religious education today centers on the issue of indoctrination. But the work needs more careful definition by many who use it. Does it mean, for example, "the learning of a belief without any evidence of its truth"? But such a definition would include the whole socializing process in home, church, school, and society, and seems to presume that all learning is on the rational level. Does it apply only to explicit, rational demonstrations which call only for assent and disallow questioning? But this definition fails to take into account that there are stages of development in which different kinds of learning take place. The child learns religion first by accepting it, and by exerting the critical powers upon it in due course. Perhaps the essential characteristic of a non-indoctrinative teaching-learning situation is that it contains a teacher (or parent or society) who permits and desires a free response from the learner, who models openness and the spirit of free inquiry, and who seeks to extend the freedom of the learner.

The use of the imagination, an aspect of the human psyche often greatly undervalued by Protestants in the past, may thus be the key to much future learning in the moral and religious dimension of schooling. Imagination can grapple with the mysteries of existence at a level closed to the logical reason and may employ music, drama, painting and the many other art forms neglected in many Protestant schools.

The philosopher-mathematician Alfred N. Whitehead once said that "the essence of education is that it be religious."[40] Our argument has been that religion and education are linked at the point of their asking questions. These are found at the edge of the mystery of things, born of wonder and awe, and are expressed in the aspiration of man toward that which transcends the boundaries of individual time and space. Neither education nor religion can be co-erced and remain true. Both are multi-dimensional in that they engage more than one level of experience: conceptual thinking and reasoning; emotional engagement and imagination; interpretative and expressive skills. Some learning happens consciously, much more "unconsciously" or "subliminally," through deep processes of identification and in the mysteries of human inter-action.

The final answers to the question of how human learning takes place have, however, not yet been discovered. The Comité protestant and the Service de l'enseignement protestant certainly do not pretend to have obtained them. The curricula in moral and religious instruction must instead be regarded as comprising guidelines or "hypotheses" with which teachers and administrators are asked to experiment and then to refer their findings back to those responsible for policy and programming.

D. OTHER POLICIES OF THE COMITE PROTESTANT

The 1975 Regulation of the Comité protestant assumes that moral and religious education is a dimension of the total schooling process and that it also has a place as a "subject" or explicit programme.

The education law of the Province of Quebec officially recognizes the pervasive character of the moral and religious dimension in all of education by assigning to the confessional committees the duty of examining the instructional materials to be used in the schools and of approving or disapproving them from the point of view of religion and morals. The guide-book **What is "Acceptable"?** outlines the Comité protestant's norms for the evaluation of material; it may be used by parents, teachers, and administrators as an indication of the values the Comité believes should be respected in teaching materials and, indeed, in the atmosphere of the classroom. As "positive guidelines" the booklet suggests that the moral and religious dimensions of education are accomplished through:

A. Growth in knowledge and appreciation of the diverse moral and religious traditions of mankind.

B. Development of autonomous personal moral standards based on a growing understanding of the social and ethical factors involved.

C. Free and serious consideration of ultimate questions of human spirituality and destiny, both for oneself and society.

Under "negative guidelines" the Committee lists those characteristics which it believes must be discouraged:

A. Explicit portrayal of various types of human misbehaviour without apparent useful purpose...

B. Material likely to be offensive to, or create prejudice toward racial, cultural or religious groups.

C. Material which seeks to indoctrinate students with specific racial, cultural, or religious views.

D. Extensive and apparently intentional distortion of factual data...

E. Advocacy of systems of values judged to be harmful to the normal development of students at the class/age levels concerned.

F. Omission of moral and spiritual considerations from studies of human behaviour where such questions would normally arise implying that these questions are unimportant.[41]

These guidelines reflect ideals of Protestant education since its inception in Quebec: the honouring of individual conscience, openness to learning, a sense of responsibility for helping the young to deal with questions of value and ultimate meaning; opposition to open or subtle indoctrination in unexamined ideologies; and the prizing of the free, open, fair, and independent spirit.

Another interest of the Comité protestant has to do with provisions for sex education in the schools. The Comité has agreed that the school must not deny its role in sex education; it is concerned, however, to insure that such education be of the highest quality. Schools, the Comité fears, might very easily fall into the trap set by purveyors of programmes who regard sex education as only a matter of information and technique on the physical plane. But sexual development is closely related to questions of values: "It has to do with being and becoming...with the quality of the transition from male to man and from female to woman."[42] Under this perspective, the Comité protestant has suggested that though "the specific objectives and content of any course in human sexuality must be left to specialists..., as well as to parents and administrators who can best articulate the specific needs of a given community"[43] schools should take cognizance of the following aspects of the matter:

1. The quality of human relations in the daily life of the school has an immeasurable influence on the development of sexual identity and growth towards sexual maturity.

2. The school must also provide...information...the kind of information and the amount of information must be in conformity with the educational needs of the pupils...not preaching...or...therapeutic... [but] educational...

3. One of the school's major objectives in providing education in human sexuality must be to help the child acquire the personal, social and religious maturity he needs in order to cope adequately with his physical maturity. Moral maturity, in an educational context, may be defined as the process of clarifying, developing, and assuming responsibility for one's personal and social values. Religious maturity, in the same context, may be defined as the establishment of a priority among the values assumed by the individual.[44]

Because of this close relation between sexual development and moral and religious values, the Comité protestant has insisted that the matter is very much within its jurisdiction. Thus the programmes for moral and religious education include provisions for sex education in each year of elementary and secondary schooling.

E. THE PROGRAMMES IN MORAL AND RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION

In 1975 and 1976 completely revised programmes for moral and religious instruction in elementary and in secondary schools were created through the Service de l'enseignement protestant of the ministère de l'Education and authorized by the [illegible] protestant for experimental use in the schools.

The curricula at both the elementary and secondary levels are essentially programme [illegible] have an integrated pattern and coherence but are rich in suggestions as to subjects of study, activities, reading, and audio-visual resources. This makes them flexible enough that they can be adapted to a relatively homogeneous country or suberban class to a multi-ethnic inner-city class, or to multi-confessional situations.

The elementary course has as its stated aims:

(1) To deepen the child's natural tendency to wonder at the mystery of life in order to develop a respect for himself, for others and for the world in which he lives.

(2) to provide the child with some of the knowledge necessary to permit his adaptation to his moral and religious environment while not insisting on conformity to it.[45]

The content of this curriculum includes Bible-readings ("The Judaeo-Christian Story"); citizenship studies ("Areas for Action"); Value Clarification; and subjects related to health and safety ("Growth and Development") for each grade level. It is recommended that some part of each of these programme areas be used by the class. General titles for each grade level of curriculum include: 1. "The Home"; 2. "The School and Community"; 3. "The Canadian Mosaic"; 4. "The Extended Community"; 5. "Social Responsibility"; 6. "People of Integrity and Action". Aims are clearly set out for each level and various methods are suggested for each of the subject areas.

The process of the six-level, multi-dimensional programme is designed so that the pupil expands his or her awareness outward from the intimate concerns of home, to matters of school and community, and then, in the upper grades, to national and world issues. Values are taught in story form; in activity projects which help children express responses creatively; and in value clarification exercises, which help pupils understand their motives and the basis on which they make decisions.

The intention of the course is that respect be maintained for the beliefs and values the child brings from the home, as well as for those which reflect the purpose of the school. Socialization in the accepted cultural norms is promoted but there is no enforcement of doctrinal belief. There is provision for issues related to emotional and sexual development within the "Growth and Development" section of the programme.

At the secondary level the ends sought are of a more analytic character. These are:

(Secondary I): to develop an awareness of the relationship between values and standards of behaviour in the story of the Old Testament, in the lives of outstanding individuals, in the life of the individual pupil;

(Secondary II): to assist the pupil in developing a sense of responsibility by exploring and clarifying a variety of response patterns;

(Secondary III): to lead the pupil to an examination of a variety of attitudes concerning the moral and spiritual implications of survival and living;

(Secondary IV): to make the pupil conscious of the need for organization if man is to survive in society, and of the need for a vision of society from which the guidelines for such organization can be derived;

(Secondary V): to lead the pupil to an appreciation of the concept that a pattern of life whether individual or collective — is an affirmation of belief concerning the meaning of life.[46]

The programme features three units at each level: "Bible Study," "Religious Phenomena," and "Ethics." Each of these is equipped with a suggested purpose, content and method. The list of titles indicates the scope of the content:

Secondary I:	**THE INDIVIDUAL AND STANDARDS OF BEHAVIOUR**
Unit I:	**The Story of God and Man:** "An overview of the development of a code of behaviour in the Old Testament."
Unit II:	**Biography:** "In the case of a number of outstanding individuals, the manner in which the values they cherished were expressed in their behaviour."
Unit III:	**Personal Values:** "To help the pupil become aware of the personal values that are at the basis of both his attitudes and his customs... loneliness... interpersonal relationships... human sexuality."
Secondary II:	**RESPONSIBILITY**
Unit I:	**The Life of Jesus:** "To assist the pupil in distinguishing between what is known historically about Jesus and what is believed about Jesus... to make the pupil aware of the life-style proposed by Jesus... the motivation for such a life-style."
Unit II:	**Buddhism:** "On the Budda's life-style, as for Jesus (above)."
Unit III:	**Growth in Responsibility:** "To help the pupil examine his response to changing family and social relationships."
Secondary III:	**SURVIVAL AND LIVING**
Unit I:	**Prophets and Wise Men:** "To acquaint pupils with the Old Testament Prophetic Tradition with its stress on religion as an ethical response to God's presence... and with an important type of religious writing, "Wisdom Literature", familiar to people of most cultures and of all ages."
Unit II:	**Myths and Rituals:** "To acquaint the pupil with the significance of myths and rituals in man's struggle for survival and in his quest for the meaning of life."
Unit III:	**Issues of Survival:** "To acquaint the pupil with some of the major factors related to both individual and collective survival... prejudice... contemporary technology... poverty... affluence... pollution and conservation, human sexuality."
Secondary IV:	**PATTERNS OF LIFE**
Unit I:	**The Social Dimension of the New Testament:** "To provide the pupil with an introduction to the vision of

personal and social relationship implicit in the teachings of the New Testament."

Unit II: **The Religious Mosaic in Canada:** "To familiarize the pupil with the diversity of religious expression in his immediate environment while deepening his appreciation of the unity in that diversity — Roman Catholicism, Protestantism, Orthodox churches, Judaism..."

Unit III: **Justice and Individual Responsability:** "To lead the pupil to an awareness of the multi-dimensional aspects of attaining and maintaining an acceptable balance between individual and collective rights and responsibilities through a consideration of man's continuing efforts to alter patterns of social organization... opting out... work-ethic and non-work ethic, crime and punishment, business and consumer ethics, human sexuality."

Secondary V: **THE QUALITY OF LIFE**

Unit I: **Life and Ways of Living It:** "To assist pupils in their search for an integrated view of life through a study of the philosophies of life contained in St. John's Gospel and/or Ecclesiastes."

Unit II: **Of Gods and Men:** "To acquaint pupils with the diversity of thought about the origin, purpose and value of human life: the Living Religions; the Arts; Utopian Literature."

Unit III: **Man and Society:** "To provide the pupil with an opportunity to examine in depth the specifically moral and religious implications of some of the significant attitudes and activities of Canadian Life: Violence and Non-Violence; Abortion and Genetic Engineering; Suicide... Euthanasia; Human Sexuality."[47]

The programme suggests that secondary school pupils should study some part of each unit in Secondary I to III, and then concentrate on two of the three units in Secondary IV-V when examinations with secondary school leaving credits may be written in the subject.

Both the elementary and the secondary M.R.I. programmes have been translated into French for use in schools and classes attended by French Protestants.

F. THE M.R.I. TEACHER

Good curricula and efficient organization are undoubtedly essential factors in an effective educational process, but education does not happen except through the work of the class-room teacher. Protestant education in Quebec has never been oblivious to the importance of trained teachers. A normal school for the training of teachers for Protestant schools has existed continuously since 1853.[48] The Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers, in existence since 1864, has not only exerted a powerful influence upon school curricula and structures, but has been in the forefront of movements for raising standards of teacher education and of certification.

The role of the teacher in moral and religious education is no less crucial than in the other subject areas. It is also a difficult one requiring, as it does, not only a certain academic acquaintance with the subject, but a knowledge of human development, specifically in its moral and religious aspects; self-understanding; and clarity about the moral principles and religious faith or orientation which inform his or her own decision-making. Schools of education are now paying considerable attention to the whole matter of value education. Parents, too, are demanding more often than they did that schools intentionally teach values and that teachers exemplify an acceptable integrity of character. Moral and Religious education, more, perhaps, than any other subject requires a teacher who can pay the cost of real caring and who can endure struggling with frequently unanswerable, but significant, questions along-side his or her students. Any other stance smells of hypocrisy in terms of the goals of the subject and is quickly detected by perceptive students.

In addition to the pedagogical challenges arising out of their subject, teachers in moral and religious education have had to deal sometimes with the neglect and inertia which afflict some schools with respect to this task. This condition has often been created by difficulties in implementing programmes, or from a proclivity found in many public institutions of aiming, under the pressures of work-load, at the barest acceptable level of quality. Sometimes the place of the M.R.I. teacher is questioned simply because of misunderstandings about the nature of Protestant religious education in the public schools. Then, too, pupils may resent moral and religious education if their image of it conveys an external control of their behaviour, or if, on the other hand, the subject is despised because it lacks the discipline of their other studies. The M.R.I. teacher is required to establish a new **modus vivendi** for the moral and religious dimension of education in many schools. Teachers require access to the guidance of resource persons who are trained consultants in the field, as well as the full support of administrators, parents and citizens if they are to accomplish effectively their important task. Great strides have been made within the last few years however in raising the status and in giving support to the teacher of moral and religious education.

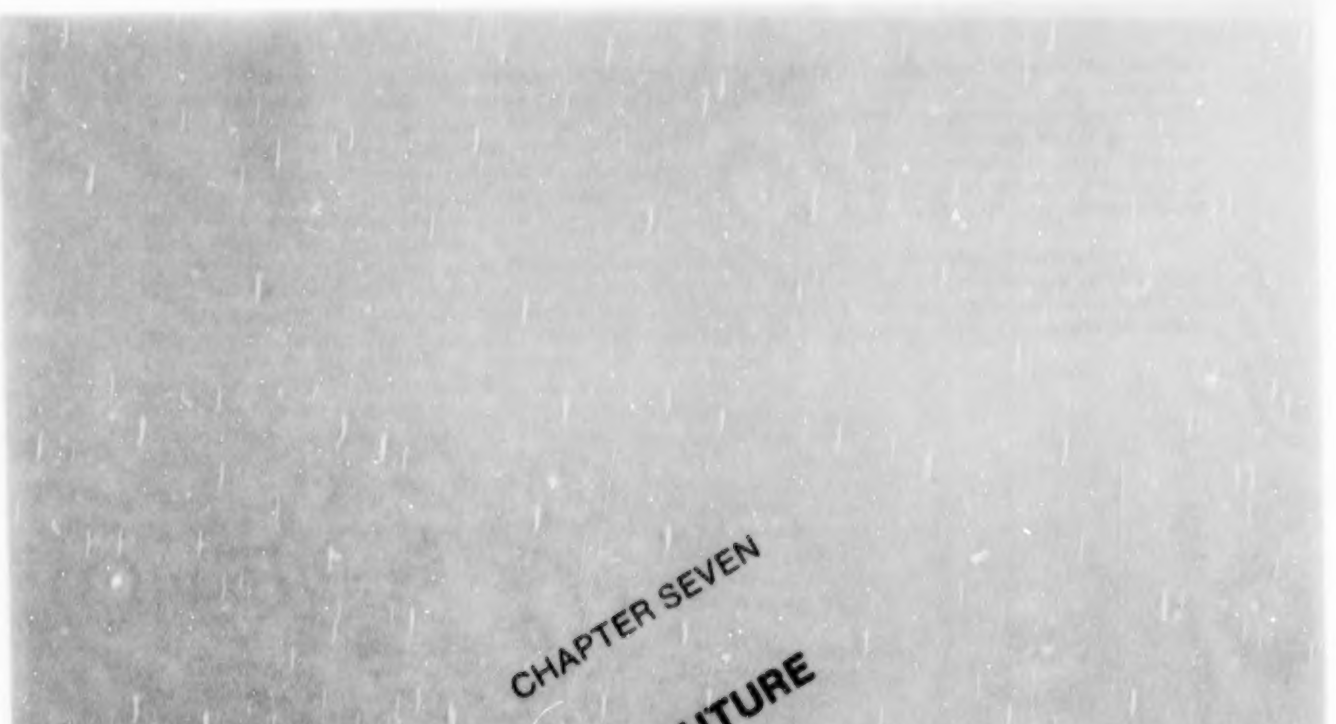
Present practice appears to have settled on the norm that the home-room teacher ought to be responsible for moral and religious education in elementary schools, since in the latter, ideally, there is opportunity to concentrate on the pupil rather than the subject. The home-room teacher should have a better idea than anyone else in the school as to the developmental needs of the individual child. At the high school and CEGEP levels specialists are required because, like other subjects of an academic nature, moral and religious instruction has content and methods appropriate to itself to which students should be introduced at a more advanced level than in the elementary school.

McGill's Faculty of Education grants to teachers a certificate in moral and religious education, and a master's degree in the subject is available. McGill and Concordia offer undergraduate and graduate courses in religious, ethical, and theological studies. Priority funding for the years 1976-79 has been given by the Ministère de l'Éducation to programmes for upgrading moral and religious instruction. In the Protestant sector the money is being used for in-service training courses for M.R.I. teachers and to sponsor a summer conference at Bishop's University each August to assist teachers with the new programmes.

A provincial organization of M.R.I. teachers and the establishment of an ad hoc committee, composed of representatives and the staffs of teacher-education programmes in moral and religious studies, promise still further developments in engaging the matter of teacher preparation.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE FUTURE



According to the recent document **L'École Québécoise: Énoncé de politique et plan d'action** the ministre de l'éducation envisions major changes in Quebec education over the next five years as the province moves to raise the quality of the teaching and learning in its schools. Full recognition is given in the minister's plan to the diversity (religious, linguistic, geographical, and socio-economic) of Quebec's population. Through a policy of decentralization of control it is believed that schools may become more accommodating of diversity, and more sensitive to the character and needs of their social context. Legislation will be sought to create structures which will enable parents, pupils, teachers, and administrators to share more co-operatively in decision-making with respect to the local school. "Conseils d'orientation" are planned to give coherence to that process. Each school will be expected to develop its own "projet éducatif".[1] An important feature of the new government plan is the central place it gives to values education throughout the whole of schooling. Courses in moral and religious education are projected as part of the regular programme in every school. Catholic and Protestant schools will follow the M.R.I. curriculum authorized by their confessional committees. Non-confessional schools or classes, which are to be formed by the school boards wherever the numbers requesting them warrant it, will have moral and/or religious education of a character to be determined, in part, by them. Pupils who have obtained exemption from moral and religious instruction in confessional schools will be offered courses in general moral education or the study of religions.

The Comité protestant, like many concerned with education in Quebec, welcomes the emphasis given by the plan to education in values. The view of the Comité protestant is on record. In 1977, for instance, its advice to the ministre de l'Education in connection with the proposed reorganization of school administration on the Island of Montreal included the observation:

> Beaucoup de ceux qui étudient la scène nord-américaine croient que le désordre, la violence, le crime, l'immoralité, le matérialisme et l'égoisme, qui sont devenus un mode de vie dans ce continent, sont un reflet du manque d'approfondissement, dans les écoles et autres institutions de formation, de l'importance des aspects spirituel et moral du développement humain.[2]

And **The Protestant Fact,** a study authorized by the Comité protestant and ditributed in Protestant schools, points out:

> Since education, whether in school or elsewhere, is a search for meaning, it follows that education is under stress, for often conventional answers no longer satisfy. It is our contention that this search for meaning is best provided in a confessional system of education which takes cognizance of the current uncertainties over values, and yet provides the possibility of sustained study of ultimate questions and all possible answers within the context of an ethos that is sustaining. The alternatives would compound the problem of meaninglessness, either by leaving the basic questions unexamined or by exposing young people to the uncertainties and

disappointments of following alone, and without any assistance in integration, every will-o'-the-wisp of transient belief.[3]

Attention to education in values is of particular concern to Quebec. Social changes in the province recently have been profound and rapid. The moral confusion and the sense of rootlessness created in many minds through the loss of faith in the old sources of religious authority, present a soil receptive to the lure of demagogic and authoritarian belief systems and to cheap panaceas promising security. The Jonestown massacre has shaken us with a frightful reminder of the credulity and manipulation possible where there is a vacuum of critical moral judgement in a community. One of the fundamental requirements of education today is that it help youth to discriminate among the beliefs that present themselves, and that it enable growing individuals to attain the maturity to exercise responsibly their powers of decision-making. The new generation has not had, thus far, sufficient opportunity to reflect upon its experience, codify its creed, and settle its value priorities. When it has learned to separate the transient from the permanent, there may be aspects of the old ways which will retain their appeal, though perhaps in a new formulation and context. Planning for such a future, however, must take place in the present.

The "projet éducatif" to be undertaken by each school in accordance with the ministère's plan can serve as a vehicle for establishing value objectives in the school and for encouraging the formulation of strategies to attain those aims. Such a process presumes that school committees and school councils work on the clarification of the presumed values on which the school operates so that these may be evaluated, perhaps revised, and made more intentional. The "conseils d'orientation" will perhaps coordinate these efforts and have a part in the implementation of the new objectives. The gap between the values actually operating in a school and those which are consciously espoused can, perhaps, never be entirely bridged. But the clarification of values and the assumption of intentionality in relation to them cannot help but lead to greater control and direction of this aspect of education. The process of self-understanding and assessment and the search for a higher quality education call upon values and activities long associated with Protestant education: the exercise of critical responsibility and openness to new learning.

What values should be taught and upheld in Protestant schools? We do not presume to give a detailed answer to this question. The formulation of specific objectives in education, and the evaluation and revision of them year by year, is, as we have already noted, properly the work of those most closely connected with specific schools. Moreover, our study of the history of Protestant education in Quebec has demonstrated that the Protestant spirit has been manifest more in the kinds of processes employed by Protestant schools than in any listing of "eternal truths." The spirit of Protestant education may be indicated, but not too closely defined or labelled. Our description of Protestant values therefore must remain general.

Certainly Protestant education is most in character when it is directed toward the release of the individual and of peoples from binding or co-ercive powers within and without. The freedom traditionally spoken of by Protestant thought is not at all to be identified with the license to act from the dictates of personal need or desire without reference to the good of the wider community and of the created order as a whole. True freedom is, instead, considered to involve recognition of the moral law by which the universe is framed and appreciation of man's attempts to codify that law for the use of communities and nations. At the same time, the Protestant code has characteristically emphasized man's responsibility to exert a continual critical watchfulness on man-made laws in the light of those perceived to be more fundamental or universal. Pupils in a school ruled by such principles would be encouraged to become centres of their own decision-making while being equipped to evaluate their decisions according to the most deeply-held social and religious principles that they can affirm.

If what we have argued is valid, then pupils in a Protestant school should be exposed to that pedagogy which best helps them to develop the ability to make intentional moral judgments based on principles, and which provides them with the resources from which principles may be drawn. The process might include discussion of ethical problems, value-clarification exercises, participation in the stories, language, symbols, art- forms and festivals of their own and others' religious heritage, and an acquaintance with those moral and religious teachings which reflect the truth men believe has been given them in their quest for wholeness of life. The study of the Bible is for Protestants, and for our culture generally, of particular importance in this regard.

The Protestant spirit in education also makes it possible for schools in a pluralistic society to respect differences and to maintain the spirit of openness. Frank Slingerland, a recent chairman of the Comité protestant, has referred to this in a comment about the usefulness of value clarification in a pluralist school:

> L'approche de la clarification des valeurs dans une ambiance d'acceptation et même d'accueil à la diversité, est la seule compatible avec l'école pluraliste. Notons qu'il ne s'agit pas d'une tolérance de la diversité, mais plutôt d'un accueil très ouvert aux diverses opinions représentées au sein de la classe et parmi les enseignants.[4]

The emphasis upon freedom of conscience in Protestant schools, and their acceptance of the fact that pupils and teachers will vary widely in their specific religious or philosophical commitments, has seemed to some to imply that Protestant schools promote a relativism or superficial humanism which views every opinion, no matter how immature or ill-informed, as having equal value with any other. A more accurate description of the Protestant spirit would, however, explain its aversion to dogmatism in terms of a humility in the face of the vastness of God's truth. Truth, for Protestants, must ever be explored; it is not subjective opinion. The insights or revelations enshrined in the religions of the world have a majesty and power which relieve the poverty of individual imagination and confront the inflated presumptions of many current ideologies. Dogmatic relativism is as much to be deplored as any other point of view which claims a monopoly on truth.

How is it possible for schools, where pupils and teachers may represent different approaches and divergent answers to the question of religious truth, to participate in a programme of moral and religious education under Protestant auspices? The answer is that Protestants in Quebec have developed, through years of wrestling with the reality of pluralism within their own ranks, a "non-sectarian" approach to schooling. Education in moral and religious values was maintained and the objective study of the Bible formed part of the regular course, but "denominational" teaching was forbidden. School children were thus protected against any attempt at proselytization by teachers or others. At the same time, children representing minority religious groups in a particular school could not be subjected to indoctrination into the distinctive tenets of the majority. Further, the regulations for Protestant schools granted to individual pupils the right of exemption on grounds of conscience from participation in any religious exercise or study. The "non-sectarian" character of Protestant schools received additional strength from the insistence of some Protestants that the educational aims of the religious and the public authority, though both valid, have to be distinguished. This pro-religious but non-denominational approach to religious education in public schools provided a basis for unity, while allowing participation by persons of many different religious persuasions. Unfortunately, the differences children brought were often ignored and even suppressed rather than utilized educationally to expand the horizons of all. The present programme in Protestant schools attempts to avoid that error.

L'École Québécoise: Énoncé de politique et plan d'action projects for future non-confessional schools the possibility of offering:

> Selon l'adhésion religieuse personnelle des élèves, un enseignement religieux d'une ou de plusieurs confessions chrétiennes, ou encore, d'une confession non chrétienne.[3]

The precise implications of such a policy have not been worked out, but as it currently stands, the policy raises some questions among Protestants in relation both to its feasibility and its wisdom. Can a school operate efficiently without some agreed-upon basis of unity in the matter of moral and religious values? But does not such a social contract, whether implicit or explicit, rule out, at least for pluralist schools, indoctrination into any religious view or ideology regarded as particular to one of the parties? How can children be protected against the manipulation of demagogues or attempts at proselytization by ardent partisans unless there is some mechanism to check this? It must also be asked whether objectivity and critical responsibility, values which are basic to democratic citizenship and which the school has an opportunity to teach in ways which the home and community of faith cannot always sustain, may not be undercut unless moral and religious education in the schools is integrated within the total school programme. The opportunities and the problems presented by the growing religious pluralism in Quebec society are not as easily engaged in the schools as the tentative proposals of the current government paper appear to suggest.

Protestant schools are now provided with a comprehensive curriculum in moral and religious instruction which makes provision for the study of the Bible, for moral concerns, and for information about and appreciation of various religions. It is recommended that, for the sake of the child's integration into the values which are basic to Quebec and Canadian society, the main lines of the course be everywhere followed. But the course is specifically designed to allow for the utmost adaptation to the requirements of individual schools. Teachers are encouraged to take into account the religious beliefs represented by the pupils in the particular class, and to emphasize (as long as the beliefs of minorities are respected) those studies which appear particularly relevant to the need. The overall aim of the curriculum is to inform and to encourage the development of moral and religious principles, but not to compel belief. The multi-ethnic and multi-confessional character of certain schools may be thus employed to enrich the education of all pupils, and a beginning be made to the task of building a basis for community in a pluralist society.

But the full realization of the contribution which Protestant education can make to Quebec culture and society depends (to the degree that any developing social change is the product of intentional planning) upon the extent to which it can successfully address itself to the challenges posed by changing needs and norms. The quick and dramatic alteration in the character of Quebec society in recent years, particularly as reflected in the laws governing education, has raised problems and presented opportunities for Protestants. Viable solutions to the problems and strategies to meet the opportunities are, to a large extent, still being worked out. But the following questions indicate the issues currently of most concern to the Comité protestant: (a) How can Protestant schools develop to the fullest extent those consultative mechanisms which can relate education more effectively to the communities the schools serve? (b) How can teachers be best equipped to carry out their responsibilities in Protestant schools in Quebec, particularly in the light of the new emphasis upon values education? (c) What role can the Comité protestant play as it seeks to raise the quality of the moral and religious dimension of education in Protestant schools?

A. **The Consultative Mechanisms.** — Protestant education in Quebec has as an immediate major priority the task of defining its role in the new Quebec society. More than ever Protestant educators must be sensitive to the requirements and needs of a social context in which they represent, in certain important respects, a minority point of view. The Comité protestant wishes to preserve and improve the channels of communication on educational matters which Protestants have with the provincial government. The role of the Sous-ministre associé de foi protestante is an important one in this respect. So also is that of the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation. The Conseil with its confessional committees and its standing commissions was designed to provide the ministre de l'Education with a consultative resource in a body of persons chosen because of their capacity to represent many levels of educational interest in the province, and also, presumably, because of their maturity and wisdom. The Conseil can gather feedback from diverse sectors of the educational endeavour, and has the opportunity to exercise a careful deliberation upon the advice it gives the ministre, and, through that office, the public. Because of its special interest in the non-Catholic-non-Protestant minorities and the cultural minorities in the province, these are given some assurance that their opinions will be heard. The same is true of Protestants. The existence of the Conseil also provides to Quebec citizens a safeguard that public education will not, in the future, easily become an instrument to serve the partisan interests of a government in power.

The question must be asked, however, whether the constitution of the Conseil should not now be evaluated and revised in terms of the insights which the fifteen years of its operation have provided. Similarly, the Comité protestant should consider whether or not the present basis of its membership provides adequately for the consultation needs of its very diverse constituency.

The growth of French language schools in the Protestant system will necessitate new orientations on the part of school boards; here again the lines of communication may need clarification and implementation.

The cultural and socio-economic differences in schools point to another focus of consultation. The values and goals espoused by inner-city, suberban, and rural schools differ. The pedagogy employed will also differ. The precise character of each school programme cannot be determined by those at a distance. In the matter of moral and religious education, the Service de l'enseignement protestant has expressed a desire to receive the suggestions of the users of the curriculum in Moral and Religious Instruction (teachers, administrators, pupils, parents) for the improvement of the programme. Consultative structures to accomplish this goal may need more definition.

The erection of complex structures designed to enable all sectors of the constituency concerned with education to consult one another raises, in a new way, the question of authority. Leadership is distributed throughout the system; but who is finally responsible, for instance, in seeing that consultation does occur at the local and regional levels and that decisions reflect consensus? And how is authority to be allocated to cover situations where their consensus is not available? These questions will increasingly concern Quebec education, the Protestant sector included.

B. **The Education of Teachers.** — Consideration of the special needs (with respect both to basic and in-service training) of teachers who are to serve in Quebec Protestant schools has continued to occupy the attention of educators and of the Comité protestant.

The new emphasis upon values education would seem to require that every teacher obtain as much knowledge and insight as possible (perhaps in at least one compulsory course) into the moral and religious development of persons in order that the various subjects of the curriculum may contribute to, rather than impede, that process. Supervised practice of teaching methods which draw upon the insights of the psychology of moral and religious development might also require further emphasis. Self-understanding and self-assessment skills are of great importance, particularly since Protestant education asserts an objective stance to moral and religious inquiry.[6] Teachers may enrich their capacities for teaching if they have some awareness of the personal motivations which inform their decisions and outlook, if they have achieved an ability to reflect objectively upon their own operative values, and if they know how to allow, in their teaching, for their biases and emotional commitments. Self-assessment is called for also in developing the consultative skills which are increasingly required in modern education. The history of education in Quebec, the education laws, and the **Regulation of the Comité protestant** also provide information necessary for anyone attempting to teach in the province.

Additional foci of study and practice are indicated for teachers who wish to prepare themselves for teaching the curriculum in Moral and Religious Instruction. These include: a general knowledge of classical religious literature (the myths and stories of the religions, etc.); a knowledge of the Bible both as to its literary construction and its content; a knowledge of the kinds of principles governing the making of ethical decisions; and methods of teaching religion and ethics appropriate to the public school. Teachers of moral and religious education will require considerable support in their challenging task; they will need consultant resources time for discussions with parents and other teachers, opportunities for attendance at workshops and other forms of training, and full recognition as persons especially trained in their field whose work is essential to the quality of the total school programme. Judging by developments in the United States and elsewhere, we are at the beginning of an era of great interest in the matter of values in schooling. Much in present practice is of an experimental character; more resources, and the results of a developing research, will in time bring the whole endeavour to greater maturity. Perhaps the Protestant schools of Quebec, which, in diverse ways, have attempted to maintain an attention to the moral and religious dimensions of education and have developed their own peculiar style, will have much insight to contribute to programmes of moral and religious education in other provinces.

C. **The Role of the Comité protestant.** — The Comité protestant was charged by the Loi du Conseil supérieur de l'éducation in 1964 with the duty of recognizing schools as Protestant and of formulating regulations to establish the basis for such recognition. The mandate of the Comité is "to ensure...the confessional character"[7] of schools, a language admittedly rather foreign to the genius of the Protestant school. The Comité has sought to fulfill its responsibilities by catalyzing the interest of parents, teachers, pupils, and administrators in the moral and religious dimension of education; by asking pertinent (and impertinent) questions of schools and school boards; by seeking ways to implement the authorized curriculum in Moral and Religious Instruction; by programmes for the training of teachers in the field, and, in general, by serving as a conscience for Protestant education in the province. Under the projected programme of the ministre de l'Education moral and religious education will be required in all schools. The work of the Comité must now be more directly concerned with the implementation of the **Regulation** governing the moral and religious dimension of education in Protestant schools. Government policy indicates that in the future schools may be encouraged to make intentional choices as to their confessional or non-confessional status. Whether this happens or not, the Comité is charged with the task of assuring that adequate standards of moral and religious education are maintained in each school in its jurisdiction. The Comité must find ways of discharging this responsibility which respect the history and spirit of Protestant education while fulfilling the authority placed with them to ensure that Quebec's "Protestant" children do not lack the kind of moral and religious education which the public school is competent to provide.

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(CHAPTER I)

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   "A woeful putrefaction threatens the Rising Generation; Barbarous Ignorance, and the unavoidable consequence of it, Outrageous Wickedness, will make the Rising Generation Loathsome, if it have not Schools to preserve it. But Schools, wherein the Youth may by able Masters be Taught the Things that are necessary to qualify them for future Serviceableness, and have their Manners therewith well-formed under a Laudable Discipline and be over and above all well Catechized in the principles of Religion. Those would be a Glory to our Land and the preservative of all other Glory."

2. Quebec, ministère de l'Education, **Green Paper: Primary and Secondary Education in Quebec,** 1977, p. 2.
3. Quebec, ministère de l'Education, **L'Ecole Québécoise: Enoncé de politique et plan d'action,** 1979.
4. Quebec, **Report of the Superior Council of Education,** 1972-1973, p. 27
5. The Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal, **Report of the Social Values Commission,** June 1971, p. 3.
6. Paul Tillich, **The Protestant Era,** trans. James Luther Adams (abridged ed., Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 222.
7. See Wilfrid Cantwell Smith, "Persons" Address for delivery under the auspices of the Cultural Paradigms Project, Square One Management Ltd., Ottawa, June 9, 1975, p. 9:

   "Our culture, having generated in science a new and powerful movement and world-view, which eliminated the personal from its understanding and treatment of nature, and from man's relation to nature, and impressed by what it had there done, has come increasingly to transfer this new mode of seeing and thinking, even of feeling, back to the realm of the personal. Human beings began to apprehend, to relate to, each other and even themselves objectively, impersonally; and to regard as theoretically right and proper such apprehension and such relating."

   (Mimeographed)

   See also W.C. Smith, "Objectivity and the Human Sciences: A New Proposal" Paper contributed in the symposium "Frontiers and Limits of Knowledge", "The Royal Society of Canada, Annual Meeting, June 3-4, 1974, Toronto. (Mimeographed.)

8. Ruben F.W. Nelson "Stumbling towards Responsible Enterprise." **CA magazine,** November, 1978, p. 32.
9. **Plan d'Action,** p. 26.
10. **Report of the Superior Council,** 1969-1970, p. 32.

(CHAPTER II)

1. Canada, Department of Justice, **A Consolidation of the British North America Acts,** (June 1, 1976) pp. 28-29.

2. Marc-André Bédard, **Les protestants en Nouvelle-France** (Québec: Société d'Histoire de Québec, 1978).

3. John Knox, **An Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America for the Years 1757, 1758, 1759 and 1760** (London: 1769), Vol. II, p. 168.

4. Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty, eds., **Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada**, 2nd ed. (Ottawa: Department of Public Printing and Stationery, 1918), p. 72. The reference is found in "General Murray's Report of the State of Government in Canada June 5, 1762.

5. A.G. Bradley, **Sir Guy Carleton** (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), pp. 14, 15, 52, 305.

6. See William Notman and Pennings Taylor, **Portraits of British Americans with Biographical Sketches.** (Montreal: William Notman, 1865-1868), vol. iii.

7. For example, Margaret Assels, "Changing Attitudes of Catholic and Protestant Christians to the State as reflected in the History of Quebec Education" (unpublished Master's thesis, Faculty of Religious Studies, McGill University, 1972) pp. 100-101.

8. Bradley, p. 288.

9. Amni J. Parker, quoted by Douglas Walkington, "The Memoirs of Rev. Amni J. Parker of Danville, Quebec," An address to the Canadian Methodist Historical Society, June 1978, p. 3. Parker (1802-1877) was a Congregationalist minister who began to serve in the Townships in 1828. His unpublished memoirs which may be found in the archives of the Montreal-Ottawa Conference of the United Church of Canada comment on local social conditions.

10. Douglas Walkington, "The Memoirs of Rev. Amni J. Parker of Danville, Quebec," p. 3.

11. Quebec: **The Journal of Education for Lower Canada,** 1864, p. 92. The quote is from a **Montreal Herald** précis of a speech by the Rev. George O. Irving, Dean and Rector of Bishop's College, delivered at the Convocation of that year.

12. See A. Labarrière-Paulé, "L'instituteur Laique canadien-français au 19ème Siècle," **L'éducation au Québec 19e-20e siècles,** éd. Marcel Lajeunesse (Montréal: les éditions de Boréal Express).

13. The Committee recommended a system of free elementary and secondary schools at suitable locations and a university in which religion would not be taught.

14. Louis-Philippe Audet, **Le Système scolaire de la province de Québec** (Québec: Les presses universitaires Laval), Vol. II, p. 170.

Also: Réal G. Boulianne, "The Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning: The Correspondence, 1820-1829" (unpublished thesis, McGill University, Montreal, 1970), p. 4.

15. See Audet, **Le Systeme scolaire,** Vol. III, pp. 152-153. Audet quotes here from the report of an inquiry into the state of education appointed by the House of Assembly in 1815.

16. **Ibid.,** pp. 190-198, 209, 213, and Audet, Vol. IV, pp. 387-388, and Boulianne, Vol. I, pp. 196-197.

17. See Audet, **Ibid.,** p. 217 for a quote from a report by Rev. J.L. Mills, Secretary of the Royal Institution in which Mills reluctantly agreed that it might be best to divide responsibility, but says (as translated) "Il doit être évident, néanmoins, au premier abord, que ce plan même, s'il était possible, est sujet à de nombreuses et sérieuses objections, dont la principale est une tendance à séparer davantage et d'une manière plus permanente, les membres catholiques de la société d'avec protestants; séparation qui ne peut être trop évitée par ceux qui pensent comme doivent penser ceux qui ont la même espérance dans le ciel et qui sont sujets de même monarque sur la terre."

18. **Ibid.,** p. 166. A proposed list of trustees in 1816 included the name of Dr. Alexander Spark of the Church of Scotland.

19. See Boulianne, pp. 275, 373, 432, 460, 740, 775, 795, 834 for instances of these various complaints.

20. See Hunte, "The Development of the System of Education in Canada East, 1841-1867" (unpublished Master's thesis, History Department, McGill University, 1962), p. 53. Hunte quotes the following passage from the Gosford Report (Report of the Royal Commission on the State of Lower Canada, Québec, 1837), p. 69:

> "...a system of education founded on the truly Christian principle of toleration and general charity would not be unattainable...the best chance of its being realized may...depend more upon on our here dismissing the subject rather than attempting to prescribe it to those who must be engaged in...carrying it into execution."

Hunte discusses whether this statement displays the Commission's weakness or its wisdom.

21. Further indications of Lancaster's influence on education in Quebec include: (1) the appending of his book **Improvements in Education** to the 1815 report of the committee of inquiry set up by the Lower Canada House of Assembly Audet reports that the House distributed 1 500 copies of the report, including an extract from Lancaster's book, in both French and English (Audet, pp. 154-155); (2) and in the fact that Lancaster lived in Montreal in 1829, ran a school and promoted his method. For a copy of a letter written by Lancaster to the

Superintendent and teachers of the American Presbyterian Sabbath School during his visit, see David Knowles, "The American Presbyterian Church of Montreal," pp. 271-272. See following note.

22. David Knowles, "The American Presbyterian Church of Montreal 1822-1866" (unpublished master's thesis, McGill University, Montreal, 1957), pp. 228, 271-272.

23. Keith D. Hunte, "The Development of the System of Education in Canada East, 1841-1867, p. 103. Hunte draws the expression from a report of the Newfoundland and British North-American Society for Educating the Poor.

24. Sir Charles P. Lucas, **Lord Durham's Report on the Affairs of British North America** (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912), Vol. I, p. 239.

25. Hunte "The Development of the System of Education in Canada East," p. 66.

26. **Ibid.**, 68, quoting Mondelet, **Letters on Elementary and Practical Education** (Montreal: 1841), Letter No. 4, p. 13.

27. Canada, **Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada,** Vol. I, 1841 (printed by order of the Legislative Assembly, 1842), pp. 35, 69-70, etc. The quote is from a petition of Anglicans in St. Armand's West, Canada East, which protested thus the idea of a book of Biblical extracts:

   "The word of God would be abridged and mutilated, and the imperfect selections of uninspired men be substituted for the inspired word of the Almighty." They recommend that the Bible "be recognized as the class book to be universally taught in all public schools in which Protestant children shall receive their education; but that it may be put into the hands of all such schollars [sic] in its full and unabridged state, and that no part of it may be with-held from them."

28. 9 Victoria, c. 27, s. 26.

29. The term "denominational" (Fr. "confessionnel") is used ambiguously in relation to education in Quebec. Popular usage among Protestants presumes a reference to the various organized ecclesiastical bodies: Anglican, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, etc. which adhere to particular confessions of faith. But school law deals with Protestants as a single group. Thus they form for school purposes a denomination and their schools are "denominational." Therefore the "denominational" schools of Quebec Protestants are to be distinguished from Protestant denominational schools as they exist elsewhere in Canada.

30. W.C. McCullough remarks in a letter dated August 2, 1979, "the original school municipalities were erected by proclamation in the early 1840s and they were common. Over the years, dissent occurred for both Catholics and Protestants and some of the dissentient school boards which were thus formed were still in existence up to the time of Bill 27. There are still six in existence, three Catholic and three Protestant. With Bill 27, all "Protestant" school boards which were

really common and those which had been erected for Protestant school purposes only, except those of the Island of Montreal, were regrouped and erected into school boards for Protestants. With Bill 71, the Island of Montreal was regrouped for Protestants and two Protestant school boards resulted. The net result was that, for the first time, there was a Protestant school board with jurisdiction over every part of Quebec, except the far north and Quebec Labrador."

31. **Ibid.**, p. 125, quoting a speech of Robert Baldwin replying to Sherwood, as recorded in **Mirror of Parliament**, The Canada House of Assembly, June 4, 1846. See Hunte, p. 125.

32. **Ibid.**, p. 129.

33. In 1864 there were reported 48 Catholic and 134 Protestant dissentient schools out of a total of 3 604 schools in Lower Canada. See **Report of the Superintendent of Education**, 1864. (Quebec: The Legislative Assembly, 1865), p. xvii, xiv.

34. Grants had been made previously by legislative action on each application.

35. See Hunte, pp. 186 and 187 who refers to an account in **Mirror of Parliament**, April 16, 1856. R.B. Somerville and Alexander Galt sponsored an amendment to the education bill of that year which would have increased the power of school commissioners and limited that of the Superintendent of Education. They also wanted the repeal of the Act of 1851, which had created the school inspectorate. But George Brown in Canada West was working for "education upon some broad national basis" and few in Canada West supported the Protestants of Canada East in their proposal. The amendment was defeated.

36. English Catholics attended Jacques Cartier where some use of the English language as a language of instruction may have been intended. See Prof. Delaney's address at the opening of the Jacques-Cartier Normal School as reported in **The Journal of Education**, 1856, pp. 30-40.

37. See, for example, J. William Dawson, **Proceedings of the Inauguration of the William Molson Hall, McGill University** (Montreal, 1862), p. 37.

38. **Journal of Education**, 1957, p. 42.

39. See J. William Dawson, **On some Points in the History and Prospects of Protestant Education in Lower Canada**, A lecture delivered by Principal Dawson before the Association of Teachers in connection with the McGill Normal School, Montreal, 1864. (Privately printed.)

40. "A Petition of the P.A.P.T., 1866," **The Teachers Magazine**, March 30, 1964, p. 23.

41. See Keith Hunte, "The Ministry of Public Instruction in Quebec, 1867-1875" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, McGill University, Montreal, 1964) for his opinion that Quebec Catholic bishops thought that Protestants

had gained by the Education Act of 1869 but that their own educational principles were not strongly enough protected by that Act. The bishops feared that a Ministry of Education which gave the state ultimate control of education would open the door to secularism and infidelity. To counteract this the bishops interpreted Catholic doctrine to imply the right not only of "influence" but of control of Catholic schools by the bishops.

42. Galt's influence was then at the federal rather than provincial level. But he campaigned against the act of 1875 on the grounds that it threatened civil liberties in Quebec by legalizing an alliance between the Roman Catholic hierarchy and the provincial government.

43. Hunte, **ibid.,** p. 321 quoting a speech of Williams to the Quebec Protestant Teachers Association reported in **The Journal of Education,** 1875, p. 153.

44. **Ibid.,** p. 360. See also, the **Montreal Gazette,** Dec. 11, 1875.

45. See Guy Houle, **Le Cadre juridique de l'Administration scolaire locale au Québec,** Annexe au rapport de la Commission royale d'enquête sur l'enseignement dans la Province de Québec (Québec: Imprimeur de la Reine, 1966), p. 130 ff. Houle argues that despite the terminology, such schools were legally "common," being controlled by commissioners rather than trustees.

46. Among Anglicans on the Council of Public Instruction and so members of either the unofficial or official (post 1875) Protestant Committee were Francis Fulford, Bishop of Montreal, James Williams, Bishop of Quebec, and Canon Leach. Henry H. Miles served as English Secretary in the Department of Education from 1867 to 1881. He was followed by Rev. E.I. Rexford from 1882 to 1891. Bishop Williams presided over the Protestant Committee from 1880 to 1892 and was succeeded by R.W. Heneker, Chancellor of Bishop's, a prominent Anglican layman. Other Anglicans clergy and lay persons also served in these years previous to 1900. Non-Anglicans were represented by Rev. John Cook, Principal of Morrin College, Quebec City, and J. William Dawson, Presbyterians; Senator James Ferrier and Principal W.I. Shaw, Methodists; J.S. Sanborn, Christopher Dunkin, and George Cornish, Congregationalists.

47. See note 21.

48. **Journal of Education,** 1864, p. 93. The quote is from a **Montreal Herald** précis of a speech by Lord Monck, the Governor. The speech accorded with the traditional arguments for a classical education, and may be assumed to have met the favour of the classicists at Bishop's.

49. **Ibid.,** 1866, p. 62.

50. **Ibid.,** 1865, p. 10.

51. **Ibid.,** p. 9.

52. **Ibid.,** 1865, p. 138.

53. **Ibid.**, 1865, p. 75.

54. **Ibid.**, p. 69.

55. Guy Rocher, "La Sociologie de l'Education dans l'oeuvre de Léon Guérin," **Ecole et Société**, ed. P. Bélanger and Guy Rocher (Editions H.M.H. Ltée, Montréal, 1970), p. 39.

56. **Journal of Education**, 1866, p. 133.

57. **Ibid.**, 1865, p. 22.

58. **Ibid.**

59. Dawson, **Inauguration of Molson Hall**, p. 37.

60. Dawson, **History and Prospects of Protestant Education**, p. 13.

61. **Ibid.**, p. 10.

62. **Ibid.**, p. 11.

63. Houle: see note 45.

64. François Chevrette, Herbert Marx, and André Tremblay, **Les problèmes constitutionnels posés par la restructuration scolaire de l'île de Montréal**, étude réalisée sous les auspices du Centre de recherche en droit public de l'University de Montréal (Québec: Editeur officiel du Québec, undated).

65. "The Canadian Constitution and Reorganization," the résumé of a legal opinion by Herbert Marx, **Unison**, Vol. IV, No. 1, December 1975, Conseil Scolaire de l'île de Montréal.

66. The Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal, **Report of the Legal Committee on Constitutional Rights in the Field of Education in Quebec**, 1969. The report was signed by T.P. Howard, Jean Martineau, Frank R. Scott and Peter M. Laing.

67. **The Montreal Gazette**, Feb. 12, 1979. See letter to the editor by T.P. Howard, p. 7.

68. Houle, p. 161, quoting a passage from the Privy Council judgement on the case of Hirsch v. the Protestant Board of School Commissioners of Montreal (1928, A.C. p. 200, page 213).

69. **Ibid.**, (1926, C.L.R., p. 246, p. 255).

(CHAPTER III)

1. **The Educational Record of the Province of Quebec.** A journal in the interest of the Protestant schools (Montreal; Quebec: Department of Education), 1880, p. 344.

2. See A.W. Kneeland, "Examinations: Their Purpose and Results," **The Educational Record,** 1908, pp. 41-52. Kneeland persuaded the Protestant Committee of the need of reforming its policies with respect to written examinations. New rules were established which provided for more teacher responsibility in setting and marking examinations. But teachers soon complained of the disadvantages of the plan (workload, dangers of subjective judgment, etc.) and the Protestant Committee returned to its former policy, one retained more or less intact for another decade.

3. **The Prospectus of the High School of Montreal,** 1900-1901, p. 4. See also: E.I. Rexford, I. Gammell, A.R. McBain, **The History of the High School of Montreal,** published by The Old Boys' Association of the High School of Montreal. (Undated.)

4. See William Peterson, **The University and the School, An address before the Graduates' Society of the District of Bedford, P.Q., with Appendix on the Quebec School Question** (no publishing details, 1905), pp. 1, 13, 14 etc.

   Also: **The Educational Record,** 1924, p. 3 for the following quote from "an Eastern Townships' newspaper in 1905": "The continuous efforts of the universities to pervert the public schools from their legitimate function of preparing for life to the illegitimate function of preparing for university is a crying evil. It overloads the public schools, wastes the public funds, wears out the teachers in attempting the impossible, and wastes the time of the great majority of pupils."

5. H.W. Huntley, "Vocational Education," **The Educational Record,** 1913, p. 29.

6. **The Educational Record,** 1924, p. 6.

7. For example: J.W. Perks, "Curriculum Revision: A Teacher's Problem," **The Educational Record,** 1944, p. 27. Perks speaks of a "bright group of pupils, anticipating university entrance" and of other "less intelligent, more practically minded pupils" who are "a duller group."

8. **The Educational Record,** 1899, p. 4.

9. **The Educational Record,** 1891, p. 277. The quotation is from a speech by W.T. Harris, United States Commissioner of Education to the National Education Association at Toronto.

10. **The Educational Record,** 1914, p. 199. The quotation is from a circular on "Action Pictures of the British Empire" which was distributed to the schools.

11. W.O. Rothney, "Teaching Patriotism," **The Educational Record,** 1934, pp. 23-25.

12. H.H. Curtis began in 1886 to teach French at the High School of Montreal according to the "Direct method" which aimed at conversational facility through class discussion of familiar objects. Soon after Curtis was asked by Montreal school authorities to introduce the program on a city-wide basis. Progress was slow, but in 1910 the Protestant Committee instituted a province-wide policy. Using funds supplied by the Provincial government the Committee assisted school boards who employed French specialists. There were regular summer schools for teachers and others at the School for Teachers and at McGill. One of the chief drawbacks of such programmes until recent decades was the difficulty of obtaining francophone teachers for Protestant schools.

13. **The Educational Record,** 1920, p. 107.

14. **Ibid.,** pp. 107-108.

15. **The Educational Record,** 1922, p. 44.

16. C.A. Adams, President of the P.A.P.T. called, in a public speech, for "definite moral instruction in our schools." **The Educational Record,** 1919, p. 23. The Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers in 1920 passed to the Protestant Committee a resolution of their convention that year asking that "...care should be taken to provide that all classes of children in attendance at schools, whatever their religious belief, should have careful training in the ideals and standards of Canadian citizenship." "Minutes of the Protestant Committee, Nov. 26, 1920, "**The Educational Record,** 1921, p. 176.

17. "Minutes of the Protestant Committee, Nov. 30, 1934," **The Educational Record,** 1935, p. 127.

18. Heber R. Matthews, "The Bold Faith of Science," **The Educational Record,** 1944, p. 214. For comments on the moral values of literature, history, geography, and arithmetic, see **The Educational Record,** 1936, pp. 222, 223.

19. G.W. Hewson, "Modern Educational Objectives," **The Educational Record,** p. 211.

20. **The Educational Record,** 1913, p. 218.

21. E.C. Woodley, "The School and the Social Good," **The Educational Record,** 1924, pp. 227, 228-229.

22. Fred N. Stephen, "Progressive Educational Movements," **The Teacher' Magazine,** XIX (April, 1937), p. 23.

23. "Report of Inspector W.O. Rothney," **The Educational Record,** 1928, pp. 177-178.

24. W.O. Rothney, "Education and Social Reconstruction," **The Teachers' Magazine,** XIX (June, 1937), p. 7.

25. W.P. Percival, **Life in School: An Explanation of the Protestant School System of the Province of Quebec** (Montreal: 1940), pp. 88-89.

26. Hilda Neatby, **So Little for the Mind** (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Co. Ltd., 1953).

27. F. Cyril James, "What Kind of Education Does Canada Want? **The Educational Record,** 1950, p. 58.

28. **Handbook for Teachers in the Protestant Schools of Quebec** (Quebec: Department of Education, 1957), pp. 9-10.

29. **Statuts Refondus de Québec,** 1964, Chapters 233 and 234, preamble.

30. "Educational Activity," **The Report of the Superior Council of Education,** 1969-1970 (Quebec: 1970), p. 30.

31. "Educational Activity in the Secondary Schools: A Search for Conditions Favourable to its Implementation," The **Report of the Superior Council of Education,** 1971-1972, pp. 274-275.

32. E. Owen, "How Curriculum is Made," **The Educational Record,** 1961, p. 185.

33. Miles Wisenthal, "The Teaching Machine and Individual Differences," **The Educational Record,** 1962, pp. 31-33.

34. **L'Ecole Québécoise: Enoncé de Politique et Plan d'Action,** (Québec: ministère de l'Education, 1979), sec. 2.2.1-2.2.4, p. 26.

35. David Rome, **On the Jewish School Question in Montreal, 1903-1931, Canadian Jewish Archives,** New Series, Number Three (Montreal: National Archives: Canadian Jewish Congress, 1975), p. 1.

36. Economic considerations were important in both the pre-1903 and the later Protestant-Jewish debates on the rights of Jews in education. Protestants felt "put-upon" by having to pay large amounts of their school tax revenue for the education of the many Jewish children whose parents were too poor to pay taxes. At one point, late in the nineteenth century, Protestants were critical of the wealthy Montreal Jews who made educational arrangements for their own children, but whom, it was said, did little to help pay for their own poor's schooling. Protestants always took the view that the charge for the education of immigrant children should be a general provincial responsibility.

37. Rome, pp. 39-40.

38. See Elson I. Rexford, **Our Educational Problem: The Jewish Population and the Protestant Schools** (Montreal: Renouf Publishing Co., undated), pp. 24-29.

39. Rome, p. 127.

40. **Statement Concerning the Report of the Quebec Protestant Education Survey** (The Protestant Committee of the Council of Education, 1939), p. 24. The recommendation was made in W.F. Hepburn, **Protestant Education in the Province of Quebec: Report of the Quebec Protestant Education Survey** (Department of Education, 1938).

41. Some of the individual expressions of opinion on the matter by council members included: (1) The Comité protestant would, if Jews were appointed to it, no longer be parallel to the Comité catholique but "une sorte de comité universel" in which other faith groups could have more decision-making power than some of the Protestant "confessions" protected by the B.N.A. Act; (2) the same logic that permitted Jews on the Comité protestant would allow Catholics, "mais alors il perdrait vite son identité actuelle"; (3) if the Comité catholique accepted "les autres", it would lose its credibility with the Catholic sector; (4) the real problems would still not be resolved since these were usually at the level of the local school, thus "la solution pronée par le Comité protestant masque bien des problèmes au lieu de les régler et amorce des prises de position nuisibles aux deux secteurs existants." Rapport au Conseil supérieur de l'éducation sur la présence des "autres" au sein des comités confessionnels (avril 1975).

42. **Journal of Education,** 1862, p. 26.

43. Harold Ross, "The Jew in the Educational System of the Province of Quebec" (unpublished thesis for the master of arts degree, McGill University, 1947), p. 36. Ross here quotes from the record of proceedings of the commission appointed to study and report on the school system of the Island of Montreal, September 30th, to October 2nd, 1924, transcribed by J.W. Kenehan, Official Court Reporter for the City of Montreal.

44. Ross, p. 38, as above.

45. Rome, p. 35.

46. Theological and Biblical scolars in Montreal who contributed specifically to the new outlook included: James S. Thomson, Stanley Frost, George Johnston, John Kirby, R.B.Y. Scott, Robert Cully, and others.

47. See the prospectuses of the High School of Montreal for the 1870-1914 period. The course was non-denominational, and only Protestants were required to take it.

48. **The Educational Record,** 1883, pp. 74-75.

49. "Minutes of the Protestant Committee of the Council of Public Instruction, Sept. 9, 1885." **The Educational Record,** 1885, p. 211.

50. J. William Dawson, who had formerly been the Superintendent of Education in Nova Scotia, and who served on the Protestant Committee during the latter decades of the century probably favoured the position that the Bible alone should be used as a text-book for religion and morals in the school. His point of view was explained in an 1887 address: "Christianity is the religion of the book. Its founder came to give intellectual light as well as salvation. He says that he came to bear witness to the truth, and affirms that truth alone can make men free; and he sent forth apostles and evangelists to fix in writing this testimony to truth. He thus appealed to the educated intelligence of men, and proclaimed that his true followers must be readers and

thinkers. The Bible thus becomes the Magna Charta of education, and it is only where it is a household book that education can have its full opportunity... It follows that...as Protestant educators, we have little to do with the teaching of any particular creed, and that our main business in connection with religion, is to train men and women capable of reading and understanding God's word for themselves." (The **Educational Record,** 1887, p. 6).

51. **The Educational Record,** 1889, p. 92.

52. **The Educational Record** from 1880 to 1915 often printed the examination questions in Scripture as well as in the other subjects. See **The Educational Record,** 1891, p. 291 for an example of an examination in Scripture for prospective teachers. It gives the writer the opportunity to choose Old Testament questions only. Examinations became increasingly the responsibility of the classroom teacher. In 1931, Scripture examinations were abolished by the Protestant Committee, but there was later some modification of this rule to accomodate local needs.

53. The Jamaica Catechism was a non-denominational text used in the public schools of Jamaica. The Protestant Committee acceded to the request of the Bishop of Quebec in 1905 that it be allowed as an optional text in moral and religious instruction in the Protestant schools of Quebec. But in 1915 the Committee withdrew sanction of its use, despite the opposition of E.I. Rexford, Bishop Williams, and Robert Bickerdike. The Anglican Synod of Montreal protested, but the Committee decision held. The details of the discussion are not recorded in the minutes, but it may be surmised that the majority of the Protestant Committee was opposed to any allowance of explicitly doctrinal teaching in the schools. G.F. Maclear's texts included **A Class-Book of Old Testament History** and **A Class-Book of New Testament History** printed in London by MacMillan & Co. from 1867-8 to 1908. Both books were authorized by the Protestant Committee for use in Protestant schools.

54. E.I. Rexford (ed.), **Manual of the School Law and Regulations of the Province of Quebec** (Montreal, E.M. Renouf, 1895), Article 137.

55. "Circular for 1896-97," **The Educational Record,** 1896, p. 284. See also "Circular of Advice," **The Education record,** 1899, p. 147.

    Also: J.M. Harper, "Moral Drill in School," **The Educational Record,** 1896, p. 293. Here Harper describes the relation of morality to religion and gives his view that the place of religious teaching in Protestant schools of Quebec was not to make church members but to develop moral character in pupils, particularly the encouragement of the individual to make his own decisions.

56. **The Educational Record,** 1907, p. 297.

57. W.O. Rothney, **Character Education in the Elementary School** (Toronto: The McMillan Co. of Canada, 1922).

58. **Ibid.,** p. 15.

59. **Ibid.**

60. Ross, p. 38.

61. **Manual respecting the Course of Study in the Protestant Elementary Schools of the Province of Quebec** (Quebec: Department of Public Instruction, 1970), p. 27.

62. **The Educational Record,** 1931, p. 141.

63. Though the rule that the first half-hour (later twenty minutes) of each school day was to be used for "Scripture Reading with Prayer, and Singing" applied to both elementary and secondary schools, the latter did not have prescribed syllabi in Bible study for all grades before 1942. The 1884 Scripture syllabus ended with the first year of academy, and by 1914 the prescribed course terminated with Model 111 (our present Grade VII).

64. The author interviewed a number of graduates of the Quebec Protestant school system from the 1942-1968 period. The study of the Book of Job was mentioned far more often than the other items on the list of Bible courses. It was a favorite in Montreal schools because of the large Jewish population there. One interviewee said that his concern for social justice, something he believed he had in common with many Jews he knew, was probably sharpened by his study of the Old Testament books in a Montreal school.

65. W.P. Percival "A Guide to Trends in Protestant Education", **The Educational Record,** 1954, p. 200.

66. **Handbook for Teachers,** 1957, p. 129.

67. Minutes of the Protestant Committee, Eighth Meeting, Sept. 27-28, 1965, 8.18. See also: **Regulations of the Protestant Committee of the Superior Council of Education,** 1967, Regulation No. 2, Section 1, in the **Quebec Official Gazette,** June 17, 1967.

68. **Regulations of the Protestant Committee of the Superior Council of Education: Text and Commentary** (The Superior Council of Education, October, 1968), Reg. 2, Sec. 8.

69. **Ibid.,** Reg. 2, Sec. 3.

70. **Ibid.,** Reg. 3, Secs. 2,3.

71. The Catholic and Protestant Committees agreed on the following principles to be observed by contracting boards in these "ententes": (a) that, in each educational institution, the administrative and teaching personnel, as well as the personnel in charge of educational activities, respect the confessional character of both groups involved, as well in the teaching activities as in the everyday life activities within the institution; (b) that, within each educational institution, both groups of pupils have equal representation, according to their religious beliefs, at the administrative as well as the teaching level; (c) that the Protestant and Catholic pupils attending the same educational institution receive respectively, and within regular school time,

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religious and moral instruction in accordance with curricula and teaching materials approved by the Confessional Committees of the Superior Council of Education, as provided for in the Superior Council of Education Act; (d) that pastoral services be dispensed without hindrance in every educational institution; (e) that, within each educational institution, the recognized right of the religious minority not be prejudicial, either through expression of their faith or through activities in the area of teaching, to the rights of the religious majority." **Report of the Superior Council of Education,** 1968-1969 (Quebec: Department of Education, 1969), pp. 88-89. See also Minutes of the Protestant Committee, Forty-Fourth meeting Nov. 27-28, 1968, 44.7.

72. **Curriculum for Elementary Schools: Personality Development: Moral and Religious Instruction for Protestant Schools** (Quebec: Department of Education: Directorate of Elementary and Secondary Education, Curriculum Service, No. 761), pp. 2,3.

(CHAPTER IV)

1. **Regulation of the Protestant Committee of the Superior Council of Education regarding the Recognition of Educational Institutions as Protestant** (Quebec: Superior Council of Education, 1975), preamble.

2. Stanley Brice Frost, "Memorandum on the Protestant View of Education," submitted to the **Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education,** (June 4, 1962), p. 11.

3. Reinhold Niebuhr, "The two Sources of Western Culture." **The Christian Idea of Education,** ed. E. Fuller (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957), p. 253.

4. Paul Tillich, **The Protestant Era,** trans. James Luther Adams (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, abridged edition, 1959), pp. 162, 163.

5. **Ibid.,** p. 163.

6. **Supra,** p. 65.

7. 1 Cor. 2: 9 (King James Version of the Bible).

8. Charles H. George and Katherine George in **The Protestant Mind of the English Reformation,** 1570-1640 (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1961), p. 16 say of Protestantism in the early seventeenth century:

   > "The great divines...labored mightily and brilliantly to surmount with imagination the chasm dividing the ethos of gospel Christianity from the emerging world of capitalism, statism and science. Above all they struggled to prevent the new politics, the 'new Philosophy which calls all in doubt' from resulting in secularism. To keep all the new problems thrown up by the new history relevant to the Christian drama of salvation in eternity — this is the basic, the ultimate concern of the Protestant mind confronting the crucial developments of the seventeenth century."

9. See also W. Fred Graham: **The Constructive Revolutionary: John Calvin and His Socio-Economic Impact** (John Knox Press: Richmond, Va., 1971).

10. Emil Brunner, **The Divine Imperative,** trans. Olive Wyon (London: Lutterworth Press, 1949), pp. 511, 515.

11. Paul Garnet, "Theological and Ethical Aspects of Protestant Education," report to the **Research sub-Committe of the Protestant Committee of the Superior Council of Education,** 1975-1976, pp. 9, 12. Garnet refers to Helmut Thielicke, **Theological Ethics,** 11, edit. William H. Lazareth, abridged and translated, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966).

12. Loi du ministère de l'Education (S.R.Q., 1964, chap. 233), préambule, 3e paragraphe.

13. Charte des droits et libertés de la personne, art. 41.

14. **Supra**, p. 43.

15. Georges, p. 129 quoting Richard Sibbes, **Bowels Opened** (London: 1639), pp. 17-18.

16. **Hugh Thomson Kerr (ed.),]A] Compend of Luther's Theology** Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1943), p. 10 quoting Luther's Table Talk, XLIV.

17. George, p. 343 quoting William Laud, **Works** II (9 vols. ed. W. Scott and J. Bliss, Oxford, 1847-1860), pp. 114, 116.

(CHAPTER V)

1. Loi du Conseil supérieur de l'éducation (S.R.Q. 1964, chap. 234) sect. 22.

2. **Ibid.**, sect. 17.

3. Quebec, ministère de l'Education, Service de l'informatique, **Statistiques de l'enseignement, Clientèle Scolaire**, 1973-1977.

   Quebec, ministère de l'industrie et du Commerce, Bureau de la statistique du Québec, **Annuaire du Québec**, 1975-1976, 55e édition.

   The Committee, of course, used the school statistics of the early seventies. Those given in an appendix of this book are the 1976-77 figures, which are not significantly different from earlier ones, as to percentages.

4. "Moral and Religious Instruction — The Island of Montreal a report (1976) to the Regulations sub-committee of the Protestant Committee" includes a recent sampling of a not atypical PSBGM secondary school "with respect to religious affiliation of the pupils as follows:

Jewish	34.5%
Protestant	28.5%
Grek Orthodox	13.0%
Eastern Orthodox	2.5%
Catholics	4.5%
Moslems	2.5%
Oriental sects	2.5%
Turkish sect	1.5%
Other protestant	4.5%
Jehovah Witness	
Seventh Day Adventist	
Other	2.0%
None	4.0%

5. Montreal has one French Protestant secondary school, Ecole de Roberval and several elementary francophone Protestant schools. Others are in operation or in view on the South Shore opposite Montreal. Several elementary schools have French and English language divisions. A study of school facilities for francophone Protestants in regions of the province other than the greater Montreal area was sponsored by the Comité protestant in 1978. It revealed that many children of protestant families were enrolled in Catholic schools and were unaware of their rights under the B.N.A. Act. Ententes with Catholic school commissions give assurance of Protestant moral and religious instruction for Protestant children in Catholic schools. Some districts appear to have enough francophone Protestant children soon to warrant separate elementary schools.

6. The following progression of events may be cited as contributing to the numerical weakness of Protestantism in French Quebec. (1)

Protestants were proscribed in New France and the Catholic church of the colony was a strongly proselytizing institution; (2) when the French imperial power was expelled much of the responsibility for local leadership was exerted by Catholic priests; (3) Catholicism was granted rights as a quasi-established religion of the colony by the Quebec Act of 1774; (4) until the 1960s French Canadians who converted to Protestantism were frequently rejected socially, being fired by Catholic employers, for instance; (5) since the only Protestant schools available were of the English language, francophone Protestants were inevitably anglicized and leadership did not develop for francophone Protestant communities. However, a secular nationalism has now replaced the older type. The religion taught in Catholic schools is less exclusive; exemptions from religious courses are also more available. French Protestants can attend Catholic schools with less difficulty. Hence also the growth in French Protestantism in recent years.

7. The Conseil has set up committees at various times to study the needs of non-Catholic and non-Protestat minorities. The Comité protestant has also had committees studying the needs of the religious, cultural and ethnic minorities in Protestant schools. Reports of these committees may be found in the library of the Conseil supérieur.

8. Joan Dougherty "Protestant Committee Seminar 1970", The Minutes of the Comité protestant, Sixty-eighth meeting, Jan. 21, 1971, Appendix A, p. 2 et passim.

9. Minutes of the Research sub-Committee, April 9, 1973, The Protestant Committee of the Superior Council of Education, p. 5.

10. William Munroe, "Protestantism and Protestant Schools," Minutes of the Research sub-Committee of the Comité protestant, February, 1972, Appendix, p. 1.

11. **Regulation of the Comité protestant,** 1975, preamble.

12. **Regulation,** Sect. 8.

13. R. Graham Barr, "Brief prepared by the Church Committee on Protestant Education for submission to the Superior Council of Education, "The Minutes of the Comité protestant, Twenty-first meeting, 1966, Annex B, p. 2.

14. Andrew Roy, "A Working Paper on the Role and Composition of the Protestant Committee", June 10, 1970, p. 5 (In the files of the Comite protestant.)

15. **Supra.** p. 75.

16. **Revised Statutes of Quebec,** 1964, ch. 234, item 4.

17. Regulation of the Catholic Committee of the Superior Council of Education with Explanatory Notes, 1974, "Preamble."

The regulations of the Comités catholique and protestant were also published in **Meqnews,** Feb. 1977, pp. 18-20 and 21-23.

18. **Ibid.**, Div. IV, Sect. 18.

19. **Ibid.**, Div. V, Sect. 22, "Explanatory Note."

20. **Regulation of the Comité protestant,** 1975. "Preamble."

21. **Religion in Today's School** (The Comité catholique of the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation, April, 1974), Sect. 56, p. 37.

22. **Ibid.**

23. **Religious Instruction: Rationale, Objectives, Policies: Religion in Today's School,** II (Quebec: Comité catholique of the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation, 1976), p. 20, para. 30.

24. **Religion in Today's School,** I, p. 45, para. 75.

25. See **Dans ce pays: A l'école catholique, l'accueil des enfants de traditions religieuses et culturelles diverses** (Quebec: ministère de l'Education, 1978).

26. "Commentary on 'Voies et Impasses' ", (The Comité protestant, April 6, 1976), p. 3.

27. The **Parent Report** was careful to distinguish its image of the non-confessional school from that of neutral school systems which were felt to be not really neutral but anti-religious in character. The non-confessional school "respects all possible choices, without basing itself on any one of them to the exclusion of the others...Each religious group represented in the school could have the advantage of separate religious instruction...To pupils not taking any course in religion, non-confessional schools could offer instruction in ethics or morality." **Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education,** Part III (Province of Québec, 1966), p. 70.

Some of these ideals are precisely those of Protestant education; but the possibility of maintaining neutrality in decision-making on matters of deeply owned values may be questioned.

28. **Report of the Superior Council,** 1966-1967, p. 331.

29. This is reflected, for example, in the record of the "dissidence of Mr. W.H. Bradley" to Bill 62, **Report of the Superior Council** of Education, 1969-1970, p. 130.

30. The idea of a division of the Quebec school system on the basis of language, current among teachers and citizens in general at this time, and certainly represented also among the views of the members of the Comité protestant, was not strongly presented in Comité discussions as recorded. This may have been because of official obligation to ensure the confessional character of the schools, but perhaps also the presence of French Protestant representation on the Comité had the effect of keeping the Comité to a more comprehensive vision.

31. See, e.g. "Protestant Education in Quebec," **Meqnews** (ministère de l'Education du Québec), April 1978, p. 11, col. 3.

32. **Revised Statutes of Quebec,** 1964, ch. 234, sect. 22(c).

33. Such opinions were more often implicit than explicit in the study papers of the Research sub-Committee of the Comité protestant in the 1970-1973 period.

34. **Supra,** p. 76.

35. See Robert Bellah, **The Broken Covenant: American Civil Religion in Time of Trial,** (New York: Harper and Row, 1975) and elsewhere. Bellah identifies as the cohesive factor in welding together the American pluralist society. Citizenship education with a strong emphasis on national loyalty is therefore given great attention. Critics of civil religion point to the tendency to neglect of a critical factor based on principles transcending nationalism, by which the latter may be evaluated and freed from idolatrous tendencies. In Quebec, despite the linking of Protestantism and Britishness, there has always been at least the theoretic possibility of bringing to bear in schools the more universalistic standard expressed in the confessional system.

36. See, eg. "Preamble to the Regulations of the Comité protestant", Minutes of the Comité protestant, ninety-eighth meeting, Sept. 28, 1973, Appendix I, p. 1.

37. See Mary Buch, "An Attempt to Describe a Protestant School," Files of the Research sub-Committee. The Comité protestant, 1971-1972. Also: (A. Jones) "The Protestant Fact," a paper authorized and distributed by the Comité protestant, 1977, p. 6.

38. See (A. Jones), "The Protestant Fact," pp. 7-8.

39. The Centre Canadien d'Oecuménisme has already proposed the creation of "un projet pilote d'école oecuménique où se vivrait une première expérience qui ferait sans doute jaillir des problèmes mais aussi, nous l'espérons, des solutions" (Stéphane Valiquette, "Suggestions du Centre Canadien d'Oecuménisme sur le Livre Vert du ministère de l'Éducation du Québec", Montréal: Centre Canadien d'Oecuménisme, March 14, 1978).

40. **Regulation of the Comité protestant,** 1975, "Preamble."

41. **Ibid.**

42. **Ibid.**

43. **Ibid.**

44. **Supra,** p. 130.

45. **Regulation,** 1975, Div. II, sect. 2.

46. **Ibid.,** Div. II, sect. 3.

47. **Ibid.,** Div. III, sect. 8.

48. **Ibid.,** Div. III, sect. 9(b).

49. The courses in Moral and Religious Instruction for elementary and secondary schools now authorized avoid this either/or dichotomy by employing a comprehensive programme with unifying themes supported by a wide variety of optional resources.

50. **Regulation,** 1975, Div. III, sect. 10.

51. **Ibid.,** Div. III, sect. 11.

52. **Ibid.,** Div. III, sect. 8.

53. **Ibid.,** Div. IV, sect. 14.

(CHAPTER VI)

1. John M. Hull, "From Christian Nurture to Religious Education: The British Experience", **Religious Education,** Vol. LXXIII, (March-April, 1978), p. 127.

2. **Ibid.,** p. 129.

3. **Ibid.,** p. 130.

4. **Ibid.,** p. 138.

5. **Ibid.,** p. 139.

6. Abingdon School District v Schempp and Murry W. Curlett, 374 U.S. 203 (1963).

7. Nicholas Piediscalzi, "Public Education Religion Studies in the United States", **Religious Education,** Vol. LXXIII, (March-April, 1978), p. 147.

8. **Ibid.**

9. Merton P. Strommen (ed), **Research on Religious Development** (New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc., 1971), pp. 310, 311.

10. See Piediscalzi, p. 157; **Religion and Public School Curriculum: Proceedings of the National Council on Religion and Public Education,** ed. Richard Upsher Smith (New York: The Religious Education Association, 1972) and Strommen, pp. 330, 338. The latter notes the semantic difficulties in research on a subject the "pivotal terms" of which are "almost hopelessly ambiguous". Terms mentioned in this category are: "separation of church and state", "secular", "secularism", "moral and spiritual values", "religion", "teaching religion", "teaching about religion", "sectarianism" and "religious education".

11. **Religious Information and Moral Development,** The Report of the Committee on Religious Education in the Public Schools of the Province of Ontario (Toronto: Ontario Department of Education, 1969), p. 27.

12. **Ibid.,** p. 93.

13. **Ibid.**

14. **Religion on Our Schools: An Ecumenical Reaction in the Keiller Mackay Report** (Toronto: The Ecumenical Study Commission, 1972), p. 12.

15. Jean Capelle, **To-Morrow's Education: The French Experience,** trans. and ed. W.D. Halls (Oxford: Pergamon Press, Ltd., 1967), p. 58.

16. **Ibid.,** p. 154.

17. Jacques Ellul, **The Meaning of the City,** trans. Dennis Pardee (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1970), p. 180.

18. Raymond Jensen says of the late sixties: "The new morality was in vogue and the drug culture was upon us. The general feeling was that the Bible was out and we had to do M.S.D., not M.R.I. (Moral and Religious Instruction). To teachers and curriculum planners M.S.D. meant Moral and Social Development, but the pupils quickly caught on to what was happening and termed it much more accurately, M.S.D., more sex and drugs. The people coming out of our universities in many instances knew nothing about Christianity, but could hold forth at great length on almost any other religious tradition, especially those of the East. Joseph Fletcher's situation ethics was perverted into the adage 'do your own thing' and this applied both inside and outside the classroom. (Raymond Jensen, "Elementary Principal's Workshop-P.S.B.G.M., December 14, 1978", an unpublished address), p. 8. The seventies has brought a new questing for roots; the study of the tradition and thus of the Bible has revived in popularity.

19. Jensen, p. 7.

20. "Educational Activity **Report of the Superior Council of Education,** 1969-1970, pp. 32, 33.

21. **Supra,** pp.?

22. **Green paper: Primary and Secondary Education in Quebec** (Quebec: Department of Education, 1977), Sec. 1: 83.

23. E.V. Sullivan, **Excerpts from "Can Values Be Taught?".** A mimeographed sheet distributed by Sullivan at a study session held at the P.A.P.T. — P.A.C.T. convention in Montreal, November, 1978, p. 2.

    Sullivan commented on "the principles established by Paolo Freire and by the proponents of Liberation Theology", (page 2). It seems to the present writer that the development of critical awareness as described by Sullivan is well within the pattern of values implied by the "Protestant principle."

24. Norman Henchey "The Future of Religious and Moral Education in Quebec: Sketching the Argument". Henchey suggested in a lecture sponsored by the Department of Catholic Studies, McGill Faculty of Education in the Fall of 1978 that an "alternative value context" for the future might include such key values as" (1) ecological respect instead of mastery and uncontrolled growth; (2) voluntary simplicity instead of complexity and gluttony; (3) interdependent networks instead of hierarchies and centralization; (4) encouragement of diversity instead of uniformity or mere tolerance for differencies; and (5) self-consciousness/confidence instead of dependence and impotence". The material is mimeographed.

25. D.A. Goslin (ed), **Handbook of Socialization Theory and Research** Chicago: Rand, Mc Nally & Co., 1969), p. 376.

    See also C.M. Beck, B.S. Crittendon, E.V. Sullivan (eds), **Moral Education: Interdisciplinary Approach** (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), p. 88; and Leonard Attilia, "Education in Christian

Morality: A Developmental Framework", **Religious Education**, Vol. LXXI, Sept-Oct. 1976, pp. 488-499.

26. Goslin, p. 376.

27. **Religious Information and Moral Development;** p. 60.

28. Lawrence Kohlberg, **The School Review,** Vol. 74, No. 1, 1966, quoted by **Religious Information and Moral Development,** p. 48.

29. James W. Fowler, "Stages in Faith: The Structural-Developmental Approach", **Values and Moral Development,** ed. Thomas Hennessy, S.J. (New York: Paulist Press, 1976), p. 209.

30. See **Report of the Superior Council,** 1971-1972, p. 85 for this quote and translation from **Rapport de la Commission d'enquête sur l'enseignement des Arts au Québec,** Vol. I, No. 39, page 36.

31. **Religious Education,** LXXIII, (March-April 1978), p. 133.

32. Strommen, p. 310. The quote is from W.F. Murra, "An Inquiry into the role of religion in the public schools of a secular state", Minnesota, Ph.D. thesis, 1969, p. 81.

33. Ronald W. Clark, **Einstein: The Life and Times** (New York and Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1971), quoting Einstein, p. 425.

34. **Ibid.,** quoting Einstein, p. 622.

35. Wilfred Cantwell Smith, "Persons", An address for delivery under the auspices of the Cultural Paradigms Project, Square One Management Ltd., Ottawa, Ont., June 9, 1975, p. 10. (Mimeographed.)

36. Raimundo Pannikar, **The Trinity and the Religious Experience of Man** (London: Darton, Longman and Todd: New York: Orbis Books, 1973), p. 1 quoted in Michael H.H. Bedford-Jones, "Avoiding the Thin Edge of the Wedge", **Religious Education,** Vol. LXXIII, (March-April 1978), pp. 191-192. I am much indebted to Bedford-Jones' article for the Pannikar and Smart references and his interpretation of them.

37. Bedford-Jones, p. 188.

38. Ninian Smart, **The Phenomenon of Religion** (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1973), p. 33 cited by Bedford-Jones, **Religious Education,** Vol. LXXIII, (March-April 1978), pp. 193, 194.

39. Philip H. Phenix, "Religion in Public Education", **Religion and Public School Curriculum, Religious Education,** (July-August 1972), pp. 18-19.

40. Alfred North Whitehead, **The Aims of Education** (New York: The Free Press, 1967), p. 14.

41. **What is "Acceptable"?,** Guidelines used by the Comité protestant in approving teaching materials from moral and religious points of view. (Quebec, The Comité protestant of the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation, 1976), p. 14.

42. "Education in Human Sexuality in the Protestant Schools of Quebec". Guidelines issued by the Comité protestant for school programmes in Sex Education. August, 1977, p. 1.

43. **Ibid.**, p. 3.

44. **Ibid.**, pp. 3-4.

45. Quebec, ministère de l'Éducation, Direction générale de l'Enseignement élémentaire et secondaire, Service de l'enseignement protestant, **Moral and Religious Instruction (Protestant)**, doc. 16-2763A, Feb. 1975, p. 3.

46. Quebec, ministère de l'Education, Direction générale du développement pédagogique, Service de l'enseignement protestant, **Curriculum for Secondary Schools: Course Outline for Moral and Religious Instruction (Protestant)**, doc. 16-3700A, Sept. 1976, pp. 1-9.

47. **Ibid.**, pp. 1-9

48. The Anglican Colonial Church and School Society supported a model school and normal school in Montreal beginning in 1853, when W.H. Hicks became principal of the school. In 1857 the normal school merged with the McGill Normal School and Hicks joined the staff of the latter institution.

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(CHAPTER VII)

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2. Quebec: Comité protestant du Conseil supérieur de l'éducation, **Avis au ministre de l'Education: la position du Comité protestant concernant la restructuration proposée de l'administration scolaire dans l'île de Montréal,** (1977-01-05), p. 3. (Mimeographed).

3. (Alan Jones), **The Protestant Fact in Quebec Education,** Quebec: Comité Protestant du Conseil supérieur de l'éducation, Mar. 7, 1977, p. 1.

4. Francis Slingerland, **L'Education aux valeurs dans une Ecole pluraliste,** an address to the Second Quebec Ecumenical Consultation on Religion in the Public Schools, Châteaugay, Quebec, Nov. 1977, pp. 9-10. (Mimeographed.)

5. **L'Ecole Québécoise,** p. 23, para. 1.6.17(c).

6. See Alvin W. Gouldner, "Objectivity: The Realm of the 'Sacred' in Social Science, "**Values, Objectivity, and the Social Sciences,** ed. Gresham Riley (Reading Mass: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co. (1974), p. 56.

   Gouldner speaks of the self-understanding needed by sociologists if they are to be creatively objective. Since the same may be said of teachers, the following passage from Gouldner's article is relevant:

   > One cannot be objective about the world outside without, to some extent, being knowledgeable about (and in control of) ourselves. In normative objectification, one of the central problems is to **know** our values, and to see that such knowledge is problematic. In personal authenticity there is a need for a similar knowledge of the self, but for a knowledge that goes beyond values into the question of our brute impulses and of other desires or wants that we may not at all feel to be valuable. In both forms of objectivity...it would be foolhardy to expect that the requisite knowledge is acquirable through a simple process of frictionless 'retrieval'. Rather we must expect that either form of objectivity entails some measure of **struggle** in and with the sociologist's self and, with this, a need for courage.

7. Loi du Conseil supérieur de l'éducation, **Statuts Refondus,** 1964, ch. 234, 22(a).

APPENDIX

RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS IN QUEBEC

Census Figures — 1971

Annuaire du Québec 1975-1976

Roman Catholic	5 226 150
Anglican	181 875
United Church of Canada	176 825
Jewish	110 885
No religion	76 685
Orthodox	59 910
Presbyterian	51 785
Baptist	37 820
Lutheran	23 845
Jehovah's Witness	17 130
Pentecostal	8 535
Salvation Army	4 030
Unitarian	2 715
Buddhist	1 130
Mormon	885
Adventist	750
Brethren	740
Mennonite	655
Free Methodist	570
Christian Reformed	435
Nazarene	245
Doukhobor	220
Christian and Missionary Alliance	195
Hutterite	175
Church of Christ	135
Plymouth Brethren	95
Others	18 020

PROTESTANTS OF FRENCH ETHNIC ORIGIN BY DENOMINATION

United Church of Canada	41 300
No religion	33 515
Baptist	22 690
Anglican	10 070
Presbyterian	3 640
Pentecostal	2 310
Other	16 905
	130 440

SCHOOL STATISTICS

Quebec

Clientèle Scolaire, 1976-1977
Statistiques de l'enseignement
Ministère de l'Education

Quebec:

whole school population	1 536 885
elementary and secondary	1 318 471
Catholic elementary and secondary	1 189 512
Protestant elementary and secondary	125 668

Protestant Elementary and Secondary Public:

Enrolment by maternal language:

	French	*English*	*Other*	*TOTAL*
Quebec:	9 729	98 046	17 893	125 668
Gr. Montreal:	7 203	81 214	17 056	105 473
Isl. M't'l:	2 765	48 034	14 153	64 952

Enrolment by language of instruction:

	French	*English*	*TOTAL*
Quebec:	2 508	123 160	125 668
Gr. Montreal:	2 313	103 160	105 473
Isl. M't'l:	1 609	63 343	64 952

Enrolment by religious denomination:

	Catholic	*Protestant*	*Other*	*TOTAL*
Quebec:	14 681	78 083	32 904	125 668
Gr. Montreal:	9 768	63 918	31 787	105 473
Isl. M't'l:	2 783	38 382	23 787	64 952

Catholic Elementary and Secondary Public:

Enrolment by maternal language:

	French	*English*	*Other*	*TOTAL*
Quebec:	1 087 355	59 822	42 335	1 189 512

Enrolment by language of instruction:

	French	*English*	*TOTAL*
Quebec:	1 093 574	95 938	1 189 512

Enrolment by religious denomination:

	Catholic	*Protestant*	*Other*	*TOTAL*
Quebec:	1 178 207	3 295	7 970	1 189 512

Non-confessional boards (2):

Enrolment by maternal language:

	French	*English*	*Other*	*TOTAL*
Quebec:	723	1 198	1 290	3 291

Enrolment by religious denomination:

	Catholic	*Protestant*	*Other*	*TOTAL*
Quebec:	1 701	511	3	3 291

OBSERVATIONS

1. French Protestants are spread throughout the province, but only in the Greater Montreal area is there any extensive French-language schooling among Protestants.

2. About twenty percent of French Protestants list no denominational preference.

3. Almost all "others" with respect to language or religion reside in the Great Montreal area.

4. Protestant schools were attended in 1976-1977 by about 80% of those who listed themselves as neither Catholic nor Protestant and by about 30% of those who said their mother tongue was other than French or English.

5. About 40% of students attending Protestant schools on the Island of Montreal were non-Protestant. The figure for the city of Montreal would be much higher. About 35% of students attending Protestant schools in Quebec as a whole were non-Protestant. Less than 1% of students in Catholic schools were listed as other than Catholic.

6. Not indicated in these tables, but available from school statistics, is the number of pupils who were listed as "no religion". There were 3 092 of these in Protestant elementary and secondary public schools and 1 844 in the Catholic sector. But the census figure of 1971 listed 76 885 persons of "no religion" in Quebec. It seems that there is a tendency for such persons to list themselves denominationally for school purposes.

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A major criticism of the Bible-in-Literature programme was, however, often cited. It required particular knowledge and training which many teachers did not possess or were reluctant to employ. How were teachers to deal with criticisms of religious ideas and practices which, though sometimes cynical, often grew out of a legitimate quest for truth? Teachers were forbidden to teach anything "denominational," but was there any point of view which could not be construed by someone as denominational? Teachers also feared that religious and moral discussion, always potentially controversial, could cause divisions in the class, and even isolation of minorities.

The elementary course was finally revised in 1957 to accord with the new rationale for moral and religious instruction which had developed in the forties and fifties. The old syllabus did not suit contemporary moods and needs. The Sunday School-like topical lessons seemed moralistic. Its superficial view of the relation of the Testaments and of the nature of the Bible as sacred literature offended the theologically sophisticated. Was not the Bible more a religious than a moral book? Should it not be allowed to confront consciences and shape values rather than being used as a proof-text for the values one wanted to justify? The stated purposes of Moral and Religious Instruction were reformulated in the light of the new mood to read:

> 1. To give pupils a general knowledge of the Bible as the book which forms the basis of Christian Faith, Worship and Conduct.
>
> 2. To foster the growth of a moral and spiritual interpretation of life by means of an understanding and appreciation of the Christian Religion.[66]

The new course was designed to enable pupils to identify with Jesus as a growing boy, the scope of whose world expanded year by year from the intimacy of home to an awareness of world problems and the profounder questions of human existence.

Though there was optional material in the M.R.I. course of 1957 for classes attended by Jews, one of the major criticisms made against it was its explicitly Christian purpose and the preferential treatment given Christian content. Jews and other non-Christians were made to feel alien, some claimed. One of the first tasks of the new Comité protestant appointed in late 1964 after the restructuring of Quebec's educational system was to revise again the purposes of M.R.I., which were now stated as: "to give the pupils a general knowledge of the Bible and to foster the growth of a moral and spiritual interpretation of life."[67] These aims were, in 1967, made applicable to the whole program of moral and religious education in Quebec Protestant schools.

4. **Towards a Comprehensive Approach to Moral and Religious Instruction.** — The new Comité protestant created by the Loi du Conseil supérieur of 1964 formulated regulations in 1967 to govern the moral and religious dimension of education in Protestant schools. Bible study (the

New and Old Testaments or the Old Testament alone) was made normative on the principle that all students ought to have an acquaintance with the book which represented the source of the values on which Western civilization was built. But the regulations also allowed in secondary schools "a descriptive course in religious belief, philosophy, or ethics as an alternative. The 1967 regulations retained the old direction concerning the use of the Lord's Prayer and the reading of the Bible during the first half-hour of the school day as well as the rule which stipulated that "no teaching of a specifically denominational character shall be included."[69] In addition, it was required that a teacher "respect and conform to the ethics and morals of the Judaeo-Christian tradition...and shall profess to be a Protestant or a Jew."[70] Teachers of other persuasions were admissible in special cases, but not for the teaching of religion.

The regulations of 1967 reflected an attempt on the part of the Comité protestant to bring some discipline to bear upon Protestant schools with respect to their confessionality, but deeper and more extensive studies of the character and needs of the Protestant school system led to the new regulation of 1975, which will be treated in detail in the following chapter.

Meanwhile the need to develop a new approach to moral and religious education at the secondary school level had become abundantly clear in the late sixties when arrangements between school boards[71] (which usually concerned the use of Protestant schools by English Catholic pupils) began to permit the mixing of Protestant and Catholic pupils and teachers in schools and classes. Revision of the course in English Literature by the ministère de l'Education to provide an authorized course common to all English-language schools in the province omitted the study of the Bible, perhaps because of the traditional Catholic sensitivities on this matter. Also, Catholic students, accustomed to a much more intensive and comprehensive course in moral and religious education than Protestants, needed at least two hours a week set apart for this use. This presented Protestants with the problem and the opportunity of constructing suitable programmes for these hours.

Various schools engaged in interesting experiments but the Châteauguay course which began in 1967 and came to be known as Moral and Social Development served as a continuing model for other schools. The Châteauguay curriculum was developed by a committee of teachers assisted by Dr. Sheila McDonough and Prof. Michel Despland of the Religion Department of Sir George Williams University. It provided a rich array of programme resources and suggestions in a flexible outline which could, with imagination and effort, be made adaptable to particular classes. Though there was a Biblical component, the course, as it developed, emphasized the study of religions and discussion of ethical problems. There was also some attempt to promote the idea of in-service training for teachers of moral and religious education.

In 1968, a course for secondary schools, entitled **Personality Development: Moral and Religious Instruction,** was authorized by the Comité protestant. This resource guide owed something to the

Châteauguay experiment but had original content as well. High schools were allowed from the late 1960s to give official examination credits to students opting for this or an alternative approved programme in M.R.I.

A new elementary curriculum in M.R.I. was authorized in 1969. Based upon a programme which had been developed in Montreal schools, it offered teachers (and parents) a choice among three courses each with different content and resource materials. One option was devoted to Bible study, another was "an experimental course on attitudes, human relations, ethics, citizenship, and comparative religions," and the third emphasized Jewish studies. The content of the programme was designed to "satisfy the moral and religious needs of children and young people at all stages of their development," and "not what adults think children ought to know."[72]

The 1957 elementary syllabus for Moral and Religious instruction, which had been reprinted in the 1965 **Handbook for Teachers** was also re-authorized in 1973 after some editing.

New programmes for moral and religious instruction at both the elementary and secondary levels were released for experimental use in 1975 and 1976 by the Service de l'enseignement protestant of the ministère de l'Education after authorization by the Comité protestant. The description of these new programmes is included in a later chapter.

Among the changes that have taken place over the years in moral and religious instruction in the Protestant schools of Quebec, one factor has remained constant. The study of the Bible has always been regarded as the basis of the M.R.I. curriculum. Moreover the Bible was never regarded as but one religious text among others. Instead, it was represented as the source of the moral norms upheld in Protestant schools, and of the religious ideas of Western civilization. Its official use in the ceremonies of each school morning made the Bible a kind of symbol reminding teachers and pupils of the truths and hopes which were presumed to govern all behaviour and every decision during the school day.

D. SUMMARY

This survey of developments in Protestant education from 1875 to 1975 has described some of the changes that have occurred in the values represented in and by Protestant schools. Different purposes of education were given higher or lower priority according to the needs as perceived in particular periods; consequently the individual virtues extolled also varied somewhat. Also the developing pluralism and secularization of society made it increasingly difficult to identify Protestant with British values, or Christian values with those of society as a whole. Yet certain characteristics of Protestant education have persisted as hallmarks. These may here be summarily noted as:

1. The importance given to the development in the young of the attitudes of accountability and of respect for persons;

2. A sense of the practical;

3. The cultivation of the spirit of critical inquiry, and its corollaries, the right of protest and openness;

4. The presumption that education should develop independent, but responsible citizens;

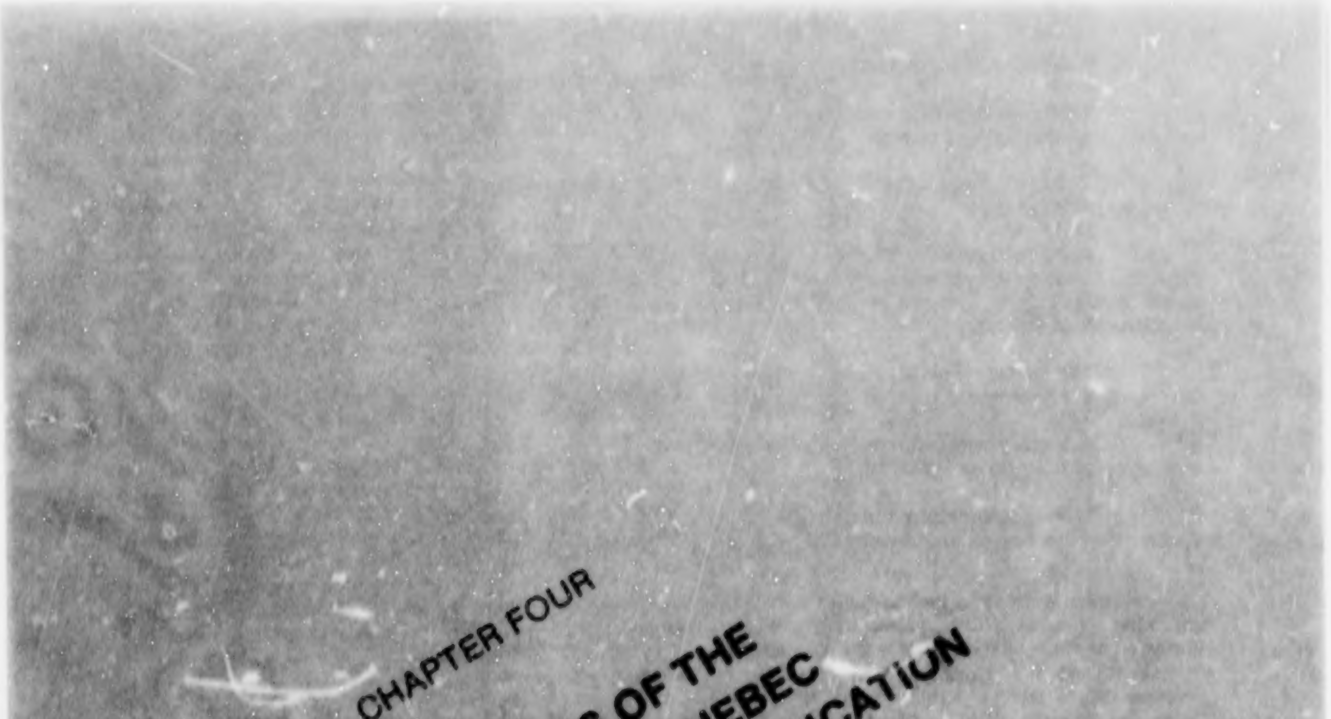
5. A distinctive view of the content appropriate to moral and religious education in Protestant public schools which affirmed beliefs and values held in common by the various Protestants groups, but ruled out denominational teaching;

6. The maintenance of respect for parental rights, and of close ties between the school and the home, and the school and local community;

7. A positive orientation to the world and to work, and a striving for excellence as the product of work;

8. The uniqueness attributed to the Bible as a text for study, and as representing the source of the values honoured in Protestant schools.

These were the principles used to order the priorities in Protestant schooling. Whence did they come? They developed out of the continued reference of parents and educators in Protestant schools to the Protestant ethos or identity of the schools. The "Protestant spirit," which transcended the view of any particular religious or non-religious group, was deemed capable of providing guidance from a deeper source than could be supplied by either modern findings or traditional practice alone. Such principles were meant to guide rather than irrevocably bind and to enable a future, rather than perpetuate a past.



CHAPTER FOUR

SOURCES OF THE VALUES IN QUEBEC PROTESTANT EDUCATION

Protestant education in Quebec has sometimes described its value aims in terms of the promotion of certain virtues: responsibility, respect, initiative, benevolence, patriotism, co-operativeness, etc. The priority given each of those values differed somewhat from one generation to another, and tended to reflect contemporary social, economic, and cultural needs. Such changes must be accepted as facts of history. Values are often affirmed quite uncritically in one age, only to become matters of debate when a succeeding generation finds them insufficient to match its vision of the way things should be. But there has been a degree of constancy in the operative values and value-ideals upheld by Protestant schools. This points to the existence of certain basic principles which must have exerted a controlling influence upon Protestant education.

Not every value upheld in Protestant education may be traced directly to Protestantism. The preamble to the **Regulation of the Protestant Committee** states that one of the aims of Protestant education is "to transmit, as objectively as possible, the full range of its cultural heritage, including the inter-relationships of Judaeo-Christian faith, Graeco-Roman civilization and scientific and technological thought."[1] However, the influence of specifically Biblical and Protestant ideas upon Protestant education has been significant and operative in Protestant schools as the previous chapter of this work has attempted to show. The purpose of the present chapter is to trace these characteristic values and practices of the Protestant school to their roots in the religious beliefs of Protestants. In doing this, the elusive "Protestant spirit" may perhaps be more clearly discerned.

1. **Accountability and Respect for Persons.** — The development of these attitudes among students has always been one of the aims of Protestant education, but the concept of authority on which they were based has been variously conceived through the years. The early period emphasized obedience. Accountability on the side of the children was often conceived in terms of direct, unquestioning submission to the requirements of the teacher, parents, and other powers. Respect was to be given them because of their office and station in society. Gradually, however, the idea of accountability was expanded to include the pupil's relation to his peers, to the school as a whole, and to democratic society. Teachers were then expected to guide without dominating and to be valued for their helpfulness and integrity. Children were regarded as persons having their own rights, which were to be respected by those who had authority over them.

The root of the ideas of accountability and respect in Protestant education is found in the Biblical conception of personhood. Man was made, according to the Bible, "in the image of God." He was designed to reflect in the created order the nature and purpose of His Maker. His life was a gift from God; it was not of his own making. Ultimate authority was of God, but man, in the image of God, was given authority over and responsibility for the orders below him in the scale of being. Christians have sometimes viewed this teaching as a mandate for enforcing attitudes of blind obedience and dependence upon the instructions of authority. But Biblical scholars and pulpit-preachers from time to time reminded Protestants that the story of God's acts in Biblical history portrayed One who related to His creation with freedom and love, the characteristics recognized as fundamental to personhood. The freedom and love of God, they said, were interdependent. God expressed His freedom by creating the world and mankind, by self-giving, and even by a self-binding. Man, in the image of God, was designed to reflect God, and to fulfill the purpose of his being through a freely undertaken accountability to the Creator, to his fellow-creatures, and the whole created order.

But the Biblical story and preachers' sermons also spoke of the tragedy of man's existence. Instead of fulfilling that for which he was created, man employed his freedom for self-interest; far from respecting the freedom of others, he rode rough-shod over the weak and warred with the strong to obtain the highest power for himself. The Ten Commandments codified in law the demand of the moral order that man must respect man, and maintain an accountability with God; the prophets of Israel called the nation to return to works of mercy and love and to the establishment of a just social order. But few heeded. Man needed a new heart if he were to be able to fulfill the purpose of his existence.

Whatever the various communities served by Protestant education might have thought about the individual's ability to fulfill the inner law of his being, or about the means provided for obtaining the required "new heart," there was no disagreement that accountability linked with respect for persons constituted the basic elements in the definition of the moral man. Schools were expected to teach that the ultimate purpose of the person was to love God and serve his fellows. Further, the dignity of personhood called for both freedom and responsibility in proper measure. Growing persons were to be allowed freedom as they could handle responsibility. The value given to freedom and to respect for persons in Protestant schools was demonstrated in their condemnation of any attempt to force religious beliefs on the pupil. The teaching of religious ideas was always to include the permission of the student to disagree, or reject what was taught. Stanley Frost has commented on the linkage between this Protestant abhorrence of indoctrination and "the image of God" concept in his "Memorandum of the Protestant View of Education" written for the Parent Commission:

> Man's likeness to God (the **Imago Dei**) consists in being a person. To be a person...is to have certain inalienable rights, one of which is always to be treated as a person and never as a thing. It is, for example, fundamentally wrong to subordinate a person to being a means to someone else's end... To implant ideas properly in the mind of a person,...we must present those ideas to his conscious reason, and afford him the opportunity to test, to challenge, to judge and finally to approve or disapprove of those ideas for himself.[2]

2. **Practicality.** — The Protestant character has often been described by its observers (and by Protestants themselves) as being "practical," "pragmatic," or "realistic" in its approach to problems, not the least those of education. The Protestant Committee, for instance,

frequently made decisions, not on the basis of any pre-set theory or code to which it felt obliged to be rigidly faithful, but by compromises and particular arrangements arrived at in personal discussion of the issues. They "progressed" by taking account of the limits inherent in any ideal and by doing what was practical. This was especially true of provisions for moral and religious education. Montreal schools, many of them heterogeneous as to pupils and staff, exercised a wide liberty, on practical grounds, to follow the syllabus or not as best suited them. This practicality of Protestants has sometimes been attributed to anglo-saxon empiricism, and there is, no doubt, truth in that view; but a degree of this "down to earth" quality is atributable to the traditional Protestant and Biblical view of the nature of man.

Protestant thought in the tradition of Luther and Calvin taught that man's proclivity to build the world around himself and to seek his own glory was the effect of a nature which had fallen from grace. Sin reigned not only in the senses and the will, or some relatively manageable part of fallen man, but in his whole person, including the reason. Indeed sin was particularly displayed in the pride of those who deemed themselves above the common herd in their attainments. The great, the clever, and the learned had but more subtle weapons by which to achieve their aims of self-glorification. Therefore sober sense about the nature of human motivation called for realistic evaluations of the purpose of every theory or strategy. The most altruistic motion could hide a tinge of self-seeking; Utopian social schemes, though often displaying a degree of nobility, were deceptive because they did not take sufficient account of the gap between profession and practice, or the intractibility of the human nature they were designed to address. Shrewd, and not easily conned, practical Protestants were not impressed by the procession of panaceas, fads and cheap investments that promised rich returns; nor were they patient with theories that had little relation to a concrete situation. They endured criticism, even expected it as a matter of course, but were not unduly swayed from purposes they believed to be right; they were more concerned to be responsible than to be popular. They laboured for excellence, but prepared for less.

Protestants also placed a strict limit on the capacity of the human reason to attain truth. Man might probe only the outer periphery of God's nature and purpose, if at all. God's truth, in the fulness necessary for man's health, was revealed to the whole person in the concreteness of his place and time and in the context of human relationships not in a mystic trance or at the end of a logical search. The sphere of human relationships, of that which seems ordinary, earthy, and unglamorous was, therefore, dignified. The American theologian Reinhold Niebuhr has vividly described this need felt by Protestants to keep a whole (and practical) perspective on man's true possibilities:

> The faith of the Bible seeks to penetrate the mysteries and meanings of life above and beyond the rational intelligibilities.
>
> A too simple insistence on rational intelligibility...is always in danger of reducing life to a dimension in which the very realities

> which give life meaning, freedom and responsibility, self-transcendence and the love of the neighbour, the grace which empowers the self to love and overcomes its sin, all these realities or dimensions of reality are denied.[3]

The practicality of Protestants derived from a tradition of realism deeply written in the Protestant view of life. As education in Protestant schools led pupils to value honesty, sober truth, and solid accomplishment, and to disdain the cheap, fraudulent or sentimental answers to life's questions, it evoked a Protestant spirit.

3. **Critical Inquiry and the Search for Truth.** — John Bruce, William Dawson, W.O. Rothney, and others among Quebec Protestants considered that the questioning, exploring spirit was the most distinctly "Protestant" element in Protestant education. Protestantism meant for these men, above all, opposition to the idolatry to which the human race had proved so prone. From Hebrew thought came the belief that no man might see the face of God and live. This was interpreted as an invoking of the truth that God forever escaped any attempt to embody Him in creed, rite, concept, or organization. Idolatry was the taking of a part for the whole; it was trust in something empty of life or real power. Through the use of honest critical appraisal the idolatry which expressed itself in secular self-sufficiency and religious pretensions alike might be discerned. The theologian Paul Tillich has identified the critical stance of Protestantism as "the Protestant principle," which he described thus:

> What makes Protestantism Protestant is the fact that it transcends its own religious and confessional character, that it cannot be identified wholly with any of its particular historical forms... Protestantism has a principle that stands beyond all human realizations. It is the critical and dynamic source of all Protestant realizations, but it is not identical with any of them. It cannot be defined by a definition. It is not exhausted by any historical religion; it is not identical with the structure of the Reformation or of early Christianity or even with a religious form at all. It transcends them as it transcends any cultural form. On the other hand, it can appear in all of them; it is a living, moving, restless power in them...[4]

The Protestant spirit was evident then in its readiness to protest the idolatry of any cultural form (including Protestantism itself) whether it take an economic, political, religious, or some other shape. The critical eye was needed because of the tendency in all human institutions to seek to detach themselves from the service of that which was greater than they in order to assert their own law. The state, for instance, which was meant to maintain order and justice so that individuals and communities might fulfill their lives in responsible freedom, has, when citizens were not vigilant, sought to bind consciences and summon worship for its own glorification.

The opposite of idolatry for Protestant belief was the readiness to hear God's Word wherever or whenever it addressed one. Tillich has described this attitude in philosophical terms as "the state of mind in which we are grasped by the power of something unconditional which manifests itself to us as the ground and judge of our existence."[5] This "openness" to God implied a corollary for many Protestants that the believer must be open to all the truths the created order might teach, for truth and God were inseparable.

The refusal to count any particular expression of truth or of life as final, and its complements, a sense of wonder and a delight in the exploration of the new, nourished in Protestant schools a readiness to experiment and an expectation of discovery.

4. **Responsible Independence.** — Protestant educators in Quebec have often stated that their aim was to make their pupils self-reliant and independent. Mature persons, they thought, should be able to think for themselves, make decisions, and assume responsibility for the consequences. Moral principles were internalized in the adult. The teaching of respect for the freedom of individual conscience thus presumed that the individual could be trusted to act on principles which he sincerely believed related to the common good. Independence was never construed as libertarianism. G.W. Hewson of West Hill High School labelled this maturing process as "the evolution of the self-controlled individual,"[6] and saw it as the first objective of education.

This prizing of the independent but principled person was strongly supported by the Protestant belief that the motivating power of man's moral and spiritual life came from his negotiation with God. Some Protestant theologies understood the relationship between God and man (corporately and individually) as being comprehended within a covenant in which both parties (though unequal) freely bound themselves to one another. Freedom and responsibility were linked in the covenant. No power in heaven or earth could compel God to restore to man the relationship with Himself that sin had disrupted. God could not be manipulated. The proper response of man to God also derived from a free decision. Man's sin had deprived him of his freedom to choose the good. He could not now do so without the special assistance of God's grace. But since God had appointed ways of salvation of which man could avail himself and regain the freedom to choose the good, the individual was still accountable for his decisions. The darkest conception of the doctrine of predestination in Protestant thought presumed man's accountability, and so, in some sense, his freedom. The linking of freedom and responsibility in the covenant underlined for Protestants the personal nature of man's relationship with God. The belief in the individual's right of private judgment was a corollary of this doctrine. The wide differences between Protestant denominations with respect even to the doctrines of salvation deemed essential testify to this radical personalism.

Thus the stories most characteristic of Protestantism tell of personal decision, accountability, and trust. Abraham, an archetypal figure for Protestants, obeyed the call of God and went out he knew not where to find an unknown country. Likewise Christian in Bunyan's **Pilgrim's Progress** travelled through many a danger to the City of God. Courage for such journeys was provided by hope. For God would unveil, in the future, such wonders as "eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man..."[7]

Out of the soil of Protestant individualism grew the entrepreneur of old who interpreted social responsibility in terms first of building his own empire, thus giving employment and increasing the community and nation's wealth, and then in philanthropy which provided for the needy and built the institutions of a civilized society. It also produced the secular man who admitted no responsibility but for himself and no dependence except on his own resources. But these are distortions of the portrait of man projected in Protestant belief.[8] The call to freedom sounded there had a larger context. God had invited man to citizenship in a city where each bore the responsibility to promote the good of the whole, where the weak were protected and the strong denied themselves. The individualism of Protestants was held within a social vision, which in its Calvinist version, for instance, recognized a holy commonwealth where the praises of God rose from a disciplined and harmonious society.[9]

Protestant education cherished the free conscience, and saw schooling as directed toward the liberation both of the person and of society. But the peculiarly Protestant element in such education had always a realistic note. It placed a check upon humanist and rationalist ideas which sometimes viewed education as its own end, and as able of itself to accomplish the liberation of man. Protestants have insisted that, important as education is, the fulfillment of life cannot be ultimately tied to a man's endeavour, but only to God's grace.

5. **The Distinctive Approach to Moral and Religious Education.** —Quebec Protestant education developed a view of its role in religious teaching quite different from that held by Catholic Quebecers. The latter tended to identify the educational aims of the school and the church; Protestants distinguished these two institutions decisively. Protestant schools were free of church control; the only official relation between the two was the legal provision now largely theoretical, that resident clergy were designated among the "visitors" for schools where there were pupils of the religious faith they represented. A formula was developed which ruled out denominational teaching. Instead, pupils were to be taught Biblical "history" so that they might have an objective acquaintance with the basis of the accepted moral and religious standards in their homes and in society.

The issue was not, as it has sometimes been interpreted, only that of finding some common denominator of agreed values. Political and theological factors were also involved.

Protestants differed among themselves as well as from Catholics on the proper way of viewing the relationship of church and state. Anglican bishops, in the early years of Protestant education, brought from the old country experience of a school system which did not bear a sharp distinction between the educational aims of the church and the state. The views of the Church of Scotland clergy were not dissimilar on this point. But Protestants who were not of the nationally established churches, such as dissenting Presbyterians, (who were particularly strong in Montreal), Baptists, and American Methodists, held that if churches made commitments or political relationships with the state, their obligations to exert a critical role on culture and on the state would be rendered difficult. There was always a danger that conscience might be fettered. J. William Dawson, for example, represented a church tradition which emphasized the necessity of a clear separation of the spheres of church and state. Public schools, Dawson believed, had a mandate to devote themselves to the teaching of secular knowledge: the cultural heritage, literacy skills, patriotic and citizenship education, vocational training; churches and homes retained the responsibility of inculcating piety and faith. This did not mean, for Dawson and those who shared these beliefs, that God was not concerned with the secular or that the secular could dispense with the religious. Quite the reverse! All truth was of God. And Dawson insisted that the Bible be taught in schools because it contained universal and general knowledge necessary for every individual. The point was that two kinds of knowledge had to be functionally distinguished. There was a knowledge that was general, intellectual, and moral; and another which was personal, and of the "heart" and arose out of faith and commitment. The former was a cultural inheritance and the responsibility of the state, the latter was the domain of the church. A recent representative of this point of view, the German theological Emil Brunner has put the case succintly:

> Even the most highly educated person has just as much need of the divine grace and forgiveness as the uneducated, and this forgiveness is not imparted to him through education but through grace.
>
> The Christian spirit, which is all that matters, is not in the least guaranteed by the obligation to accept a special Christian Creed or by the emphasis upon Christian religious instruction... The confessional school, under the control of the Church, ...is only in place at all within a Roman Catholic conception of the relation between the Church and culture, whereas the guardianship of culture by the Church is an idea which is essentially foreign to the Protestant.[10]

So believed certain Quebec Protestants! Others held that the church did have a certain "guardianship of culture" and that the state should actively promote "true religion."

Thus the character of Quebec Protestant education was forged out of working compromises among the variant religious groups which made up the Protestant population. The term of these implicit agreements were subtle and often ambiguous. Schools were confessional in that they were controlled by citizens defined according to their religious profession as Catholic or Protestant. Protestants did not however relate their schools directly to the organized churches, but to the Protestant population in general. The Protestant community was often considered to consist, for educational purposes, of all non-Catholics, though only **bona fide** Protestants could sit on school boards. The official regulation forbade denominational teaching, but veiled the issue as to whether the teaching given was to be considered faith-nurtural or simply moral. It was not always easy to distinguish the moral from the religious or what was a general Protestant belief or value from denominational teaching. In practice, the context of the local school shaped the precise character of the religious teaching given. The principal or teacher's views and competence, the tradition in the school, and the religious loyalties of the community were important to the case. These realities also helped to determine the extent to which local clergy as "visitors" could give supervision or pastoral service to the school. Some schools had little attention from local churches; others had much. Where there was but one Protestant denomination in strength in a community the religious teaching and pastoral supervision in the school were, probably, less carefully guarded against denominational bias than in multi-denominational or multi-faith communities or in those that had developed a concept of the school as entirely secular. Thus pragmatic considerations sometimes supplied for Protestant education in Quebec a basis for unity even when theoretical differences were left unresolved. The precise role and content of moral and religious education could be left to the decisions of local schools. There was no need to wait until differences about the proper relation of Church and state or of moral and religious knowledge were settled. Differing views could co-exist. Protestant schools in Quebec were therefore distinctive not only by virtue of the particular compromises which became institutionalized in the system, but by their willingness to leave the rationale for moral and religious education open, and flexible enough to accommodate wide differences of religious belief. The dictum "no denominational teaching shall be given" officially safeguarded this openness from being abused.

6. **Parents' Rights and Local Authority.** — Protestant education in Quebec has been characterized, throughout its history, by the maintenance of a close relationship to parents and to the local community. The relation was fostered historically through the school boards, Home and School Associations, visitors' days, and the contact of classroom teachers with parents through the children being taught. Respect for parental rights was early built into the Protestant Committee's regulations; the "conscience clause" permitted parents to withdraw their children from religious education when this was considered injurious to the child's conscience as guarded by the home.

In Protestant religious thought, respect for the rights of the parents has often been founded on the belief that the family is a primary order in creation with a special mandate for the education of the young. The intimate personal relationships of the family best reflect the quality of God's communication to his people. Responsibility, respect, love, forgiveness, service to others are learned where the particularities of human need, weakness or strength, and the fact of individual differences are not statistical abstractions but the stuff of everyday living. The role of the public authority in education was therefore regarded not as replacing that of the family but as assisting the family to do its work. Paul Garnet of Concordia University has written of Helmut Thielicke's teaching on this subject:

> Thielicke notes that the state was not instituted from creation, but only after the Fall. It is an emergency order, in view of man's sin, whose purpose is to limit the chaos that would otherwise obtain. It provides the possibility of physical survival, so that man can hear the word of God and be saved. In contrast the family was instituted from creation, and the church is a new creation. Both these institutions are of higher dignity than the state... The family is in miniature both a church and a state. When the child is sent to a state school, it is the parents who delegate their responsibilities to the state and not **vice versa.**[11]

The local community may serve the child as an extended family. Because the relationships there are relatively personal, the local community has been regarded by Protestants as sharing somewhat in the intimacy of the parent's implicit contract with the child. Local autonomy in determining the nature of the educational milieu has therefore been of importance to most Protestants.

The belief that the family must be fundamentally responsible for education has been supported by the findings of researchers in human learning and development who affirm that what is learned early in the child's life, not less in the realm of values than in that of skills, concepts and attitudes, remains, for good or ill, an enduring possession. Protestant educators have sought therefore to work in close relationship with parents.

The compulsory education law, in force in Quebec since 1943, implied some limitation on the rights of the parents with respect to their children's schooling. The right of the child to educational opportunity and that of the public authority to promote the socialization of the young in the duties of citizenship and in the accepted norms of behaviour were secured by that law. But respect for the rights of parents has remained an important cornerstone of Quebec educational law. The preamble to Quebec's Loi du ministère de l'Education states that "parents have the right to choose the institutions which, according to their conviction, ensure the greatest respect for the rights of their children.[12] The principles of the preamble reflect the spirit of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on December 10, 1948. Quebec's Charte des droits et libertés de la personne (1975) has stated in addition that "les parents...ont le droit d'exiger que...dans les établissements publics, leurs enfants reçoivent un enseignement religieux ou moral conforme à leurs convictions dans le cadre des programmes prévus par la loi."[13] Protestants have been second to none in approving the spirit of such laws.

7. **Orientation to the World and Work.** — Inspector John Bruce in 1865 rhetorically questioned the readers of the **Journal of Education**, "Where do we look for our bravest, noblest, and purest characters?", and replied to his own question, "Is it not among the men of work...?". The inspector continued, "Who constitute the drags to the advancement of our

race?... Those whose motive to work is necessity, the impending fear of starvation... not our earnest effort men, whose capital is time, turning its moments to account...."[14] Bruce's eyes were those of the Protestant. The difference in persons is one of attitude!

One works because he must, and the other because he chooses. And who will accomplish the more? The free man.

Deeply engrained in Protestants like Bruce was the belief that within God's design for creation every person was ordained to a worldly calling, and was meant to serve there as an agent of God for the common good. The unbeliever, not yet delivered from the curse of sin, worked for himself by the sweat of his brow, not perceiving the holiness of his vocation. But the believer embraced his work, recognizing the dignity to which God had called him. He saw his labour for what it was: a participation and co-operation with God in His ongoing creative and redemptive activity in the world. Work itself was not a curse. Even Adam in his original state had a vocation. He was gardener. Moreover, there was room in God's economy for many kinds of work. The man and woman who worked with their hands were as honourable in God's eyes as the judge or the titled nobleman. Since every service or product of labour was of God, and for God, no effort was spared to render it as perfect as possible. The quest for excellence which was characteristic of much humanist education was reinforced by Protestants who had a strong sense of worldly vocation.

The doctrine of vocation taught by the Protestant reformers altered for their followers the old dichotomy between the sacred and the secular. If ordinary people were to be "the people of God," and if the service of God was ordinary work, then there were no special persons or places reserved as more holy than others. Every person was present to his neighbour, and his temple was the barn, the field, or the market. Merchants and weavers in Puritan England of the early seventeenth century heard preacher Richard Sibbes cry:

> Let us then strive and labour to be fruitfull in our Places and Calling, for it the greatest honour in this world, for God to dignifie us with such a condition, as to make us fruitfull. We must not bring forth fruit to ourselves... Honour, Riches, and the like are but secondary things, arbitrary at God's pleasure to cast in: but, to have an active heart fruitfull from this ground, that God hath planted us for this purpose, that we may doe good to mankind, this is an excelent consideration not to profane our calling.[15]

Such sentiments were re-echoed by the descendants of those merchants and weavers in nineteenth century Quebec. And in Protestant schools they were transmuted into values closely associated with Protestant education: the pursuit of excellence, the dignity and necessity of work, an impatience with "religiousness" for its own sake, and an exaltation of the importance of earthly life and occupation.

8. **The Use of the Bible.** — The Bible served for generations as a sign of the Protestant school in Quebec. Respect was paid to what the Bible symbolized during the first half-hour of each school day. In schools where there was concern that the consciences of some children might be offended by this practice, the ceremonies were confined to patriotic exercises and health inspection. But Bible reading remained normative for the schools as a whole, and the school regulations testified to this. The Bible pointed to the source and the authority for the value ideals maintained in the school even when it was not explicitly taught.

The Protestant reverence for the Bible reflects the high place ascribed to it as "the Word of God" as distinct from the words of men. Martin Luther's dictum was that:

> We must make a great difference between God's Word and the word of man. A man's word is a little sound, that flies into the air, and soon vanishes; but the Word of God is greater than heaven and earth, yea, greater than death and hell, for it forms part of the power of God, and endures everlastingly; we should, therefore, diligently study God's Word, and know and assuredly believe that God himself speaks unto us.[16]

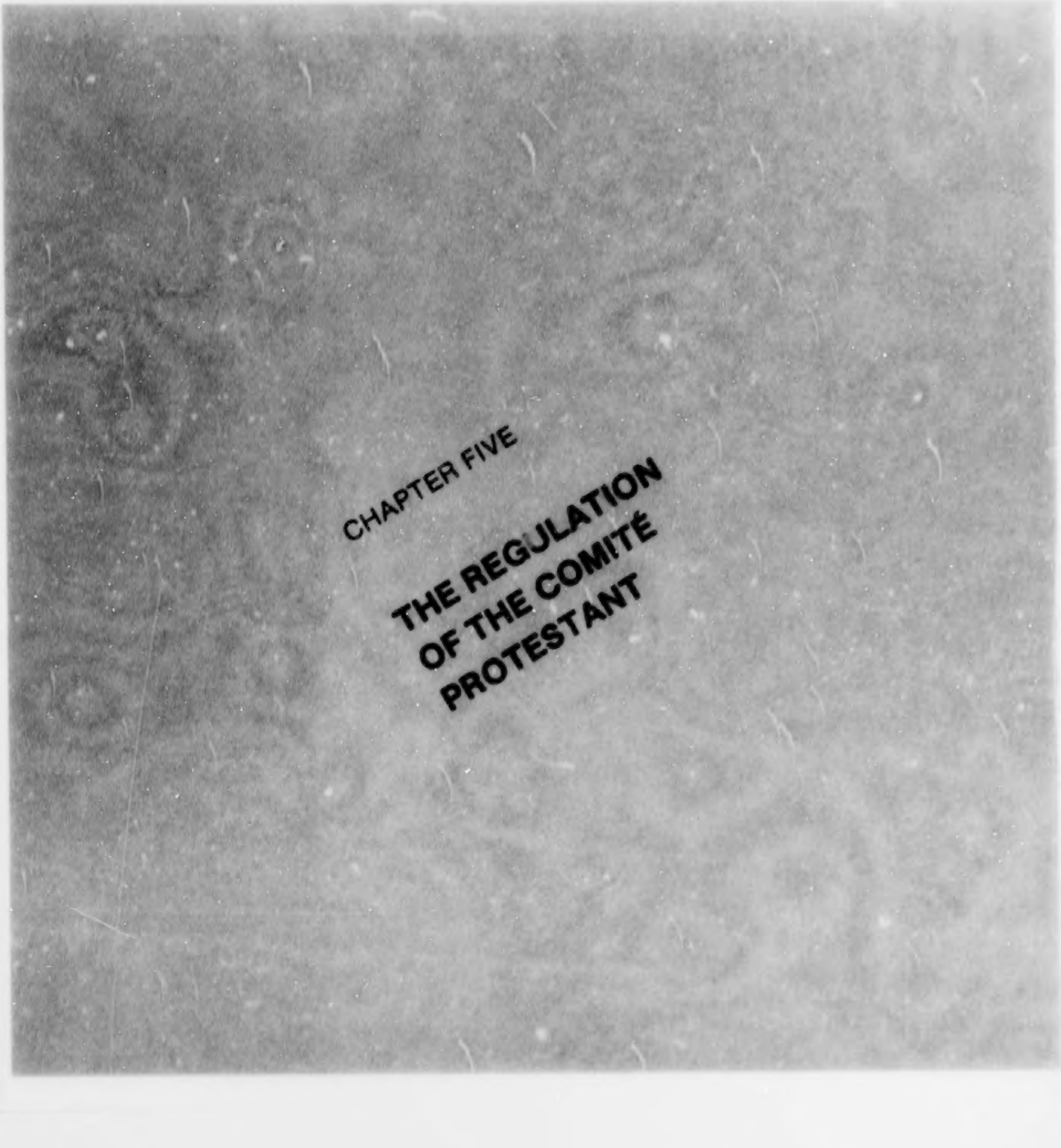
Luther knew that the words of the Bible were, in one sense, men's words (Did not God always communicate himself through the ordinary?), and that the words of men other than those in the Bible could convey truths of God. But the "Word of God" implied for Luther the personal and powerful engagement of God with the individual. The Gospel brought the hearer (and the reader) into a relationship with God which was of the Spirit and not describable by words, concepts, laws, or doctrines. The Bible had power because through it the Prophets and Apostles, who were immediate to the historical events in which God revealed himself to men, spoke again to faith and created faith. The ultimate revelation, the Reformers believed, was the person of the incarnate Christ, who came to dwell with men in a specific time and place. That Event was unrepeatable, and the Bible as enriching the witness to the Event was a Book unlike any other. Thus, however much Protestants disagreed among themselves about the precise relation of the Bible and the church or about the interpretation of the Biblical witness, all agreed upon the importance of the Bible. Archbishop Laud, the Anglican primate, who in many things differed radically from the Calvinist Puritans of his day, was in accord with them about the priority, in some sense, of the authority of Scripture:

> And since it is apparent that tradition is first in order of time, it must necessarily follow that Scripture is first in order of nature; that is the chief upon which faith rests and resolves itself... A beginner in the faith, or a weakling, or a doubter...begins at tradition, and proves Scripture by the Church; but a man strong...in the faith...proves the Church by Scripture.[17]

The Bible was studied in Protestant schools as the source of the moral and spiritual ideas and ideals of the Jewish and Protestant traditions and of much of the Western culture. But its presence as a symbol was perhaps even more significant. This implied that its teaching and the Protestant ethos were normative in the schools. A symbol conveys more than can be grasped rationally. Even unopened, the Bible was witness to the Protestant belief that ultimate truth is greater than anything that can be expressed or known.

Summary. —The ideal values upheld and represented in Protestant education in Quebec have to a considerable extent reflected adaptations to the social norms, perceived needs (and prejudices) of particular periods of its history. But a core of more enduring values point to roots in those beliefs which have traditionally characterized Protestantism. Those beliefs were not primarily concerned with codes of laws or systems of doctrine, though they were no doubt sometimes interpreted as such, but sought to describe the relationship between man and the Ultimate as personal. Freedom and love (or responsibility) and their interplay defined the field in which full personhood was believed to be realized.

The ideal image Protestants possessed of themselves was that they were free and not to be coerced by external authority (even in respect of that of which they approved), but that they might be trusted to act responsibly according to the information (admittedly limited) and the judgements (certainly human and biased) they had been able to make. Education in Protestant schools thus centered around enabling pupils to come in touch with the best possible resources, in order that judgment and principle might be developed. Protestant education, to the extent that it was led by these ideals, met the needs and changes of the decades with freedom to experiment, and in a spirit of responsible service.



CHAPTER FIVE

THE REGULATION OF THE COMITÉ PROTESTANT

A. THE BACKGROUND OF THE REGULATION

The formulation and general direction of policy with respect to the moral and religious dimension of education in Protestant schools in Quebec is the responsibility of the Comité protestant of the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation. Both the Comité and the Conseil were among the new structures created in the educational reforms of 1964.

In the early 1960s Quebec had entered that phase of its history which has become known as "The Quiet Revolution." The people of the province turned from a pre-occupation with traditional values to consider their future in the twentieth century and beyond. One of the institutions most in need of re-evaluation was the educational system, which had become structurally cumbersome, lacking in coherence, and inefficient, many believed, in meeting the needs of modern society. The government of Jean Lesage appointed a Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education under the chairmanship of Mgr. Alphonse Parent to conduct an extensive study of education in the province. The educational laws of 1964 were based largely on the first series of recommendations in the Parent Report. The Commission continued its work, making further influential recommendations, until 1966.

The Loi du ministère de l'Education of 1964 created a ministère de l'Education to replace the Superintendency of Education and the former Catholic and Protestant Committees. The office of Director of Protestant Education was eliminated, and that of Sous-ministre associé de foi protestante instituted. There were similar changes for the Catholic sector. The conseil supérieur de l'éducation with Catholic and Protestant confessional committees was established by a law passed at the same time as the Loi du ministère de l'Education. The Conseil was designed to serve in an advisory capacity to the Ministre de l'Education, having in its own membership and in that of its attached committees persons with direct an advisory capacity to the Minister of l'Education, having in its own work in the province. The creation of the confessional committees represented the government's response to those recommendations of the Parent Commission, which advocated that confessionally based education continue. Confessional education had a long history in Quebec and it was felt that religious differences should be respected in the provisions made for public education. The Commission also recommended that arrangements be made for non-confessional education.

The Loi du Conseil supérieur de l'éducation charged the confessional committees with the duties:

a) to make regulations to recognize confessional educational institutions as either Catholic or Protestant, as the case may be, and to ensure their confessional character;

b) to recognize confessional educational institutions as either Catholic or Protestant, as the case may be, and to revoke such recognition when necessary;

c) to make regulations respecting Christian education, religious and moral instruction and religious service in the educational institutions recognized as Catholic or Protestant, as the case may be;

d) to make regulations respecting the qualification, from the point of view of religion and morals, of the managing and teaching staff of such educational institutions;

e) to approve, from the point of view of religion and morals, the curricula, text-books and teaching material in such educational institutions;

f) to approve, for religious instruction, Catholic or Protestant, as the case may be, the curricula, text-books, and teaching material and to make regulations respecting the qualification of the teachers having charge of such instruction in schools other than those recognized as Catholic or Protestant;

g) to make recommendations to the Council or to the Minister respecting any matter within their competence.[1]

The committees were also authorized to receive and hear requests and suggestions on matters within their competence, to carry on useful research, and to make rules for their own internal management subject to the approval of the lieutenant-gouverneur en conseil.

The membership of the confessional committees as provided for by the Loi du Conseil supérieur de l'éducation consists of fifteen persons for each committee; the normal term of office is three years. The Comité catholique is composed of an equal number of representatives of religious authorities, parents and teachers. The religious authorities are appointed by the assembly of the Catholic bishops of the province and the others by the lieutenant-gouverneur en conseil on the recommendation of the Conseil supérieur, the latter having first consulted parents and teachers' organizations and obtained assent from the assembly of bishops. The Comité protestant is composed of "representatives of the Protestant denominations, parents and teachers," appointed by the lieutenant-gouverneur en conseil after receiving the recommendations of the Conseil supérieur made after consultation with "the associations of organizations most representative of the Protestant denominations, parents and teachers" and "agreed to in the Conseil by the majority of the Protestant members thereof"[2] (at least four of the twenty-four members of the Conseil supérieur must be Protestant). The Sous-ministres associés de foi catholique ou protestante are **ex officio**, non-voting members of their respective confessional committees.

The Comité protestant, acting on the mandate given by the educational laws of the province, made its first regulations in 1967, but these were found to be in need of revision a few years later as the Comité further consulted its constituency and developed its thinking. The Regulation of

1975 was the result of considerable research and reflection. The Comité sought to take seriously both the sociological and historical dimensions of the context of Protestant education in the province and to gear itself to the needs and requirements of its constituency. The Committee's findings may be conveniently described here in terms of (1) the make-up of the Protestant school population, (2) the views of parents and educators on the moral and religious dimension of education in the Protestant public schools, and (3) the historic meaning of "Protestant education" and the "Protestant school" in Quebec.

1. **Make-up of the Protestant School Population.** — Quebec school enrolment statistics,[3] the returns of the 1971 federal census, together with information gained from contacts with the "Protestant" constituency, could not fail to demonstrate to the Comité protestant the diverse character of the school population in the Protestant schools of Quebec.

School statistics in the early seventies revealed that in the Greater Montreal areas (containing about 85% of the Protestant school population of Quebec) about 35% of school children were other than Protestant. On the Island of Montreal the percentage of non-Protestants rose to almost 40%. In the city proper, it was higher still.[4]

Jews, who made up more than 15% of the non-Catholic population of Quebec, sent about 70% of their children to the Protestant public schools; the remainder attended private schools, which normally employed the curriculum of Protestant schools but had additional Jewish studies. Parents of Jewish pupils in the public schools tended to agree that schooling had a moral purpose but were cool towards moral and religious education on the grounds that it separated children from one another. Jewish opinion on moral and religious matters tended, however, to be as diverse as that of Protestants.

Members of the several Orthodox communities (composing about 8% of the non-Catholic population) whose children attended Protestant schools were uncomfortable chiefly with what they regarded as the lack of religious education or at least the humanistic bias in the schools. Immigrant parents were often distressed about the communication gap that developed between themselves and their children in their new country. Children quickly adhered to norms very different from the ideals held by the older generation. The latter therefore wanted schools to transmit something of the language, culture, and religion of the homeland.

French "Protestants", who accounted for about 8% of the Protestant school population in Quebec, were made up of adherents of various Prostestant Churches, former Catholics of no specific Protestant affiliation, and Jews. Many were new immigrants; most were native Quebecois. Many additional French Protestants were known to attend Catholic schools.[5] The 1971 census figures listed the number of Quebec Protestants of French ethnic origin (excluding Jews) as 130,000, a surprising figure. French "Protestants" presented no unified opinion about their place in the Protestant school system or about moral and religious instruction. A preference for non-confessional or neutral schools was registered by some, and these tended also to be uncertain about the place of religion in the public school. But others were supporters of Protestant schools and favoured moral and religious instruction of some kind. French Protestants agreed on one point: that their rights in schooling had been frequently obscured and overlooked because of the dominant anglophone orientation of Protestant schools in Quebec in the past. Not until the eve of the Quiet Revolution had Protestant school boards begun to consider it necessary to provide schooling in French for francophone children.[6]

The Protestant sixty-five percent in the Greater Montreal region included a wide variety of ethnic groupings beside those mentioned. Among anglophone Protestants were West Indian and American blacks, Indians, second generation Japanese, Chinese, and Europeans of various nationalities. Protestants who were of another mother-tongue than English or French included Japanese, Chinese, Hungarians, Koreans, Portugese and others who were frequently members of distinct ethnic communities.

The rural schools of the province were far more homogeneous than those in Montreal with respect to ethnicity, but arrangements for the schooling of Catholic pupils in Protestant high schools had created there schools which were in fact bi-confessional. The Protestant schools of Quebec could therefore no longer be described generally as British, anglosaxon, or anglophone in character. Nor was it fair to identify them as Protestant even in the cultural sense.

The Comité protestant, faced with the task of formulating regulations for the recognition of Protestant schools, and for the development of moral and religious education in those schools, had to take into account the fact that the school population was not homogeneous. The needs and opinions of minorities were kept before the Comité protestant through its own sub-committees set up for that purpose, and through similar work undertaken by the Conseil supérieur.[7]

2. **The Views of Parents, Educators, and Others.** — Since its first meetings in 1966 the Comité protestant had been accumulating data on the opinions of its constituency with respect to moral and religious instruction in the schools. These materials included:

a) Briefs and other reports solicited by the Comité from the Quebec Federation of Home and School Associations, the Quebec Federation of School Board Associations, the Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers, and the Quebec Association of School Administrators, ministerial associations, and other provincial and local groups;

b) Impressions gained by the Comité as it convened in a great number of different localities throughout the province and met representative individuals and groups;

c) Reports from teams of members of the Comité protestant who visited classrooms where moral and religious education was being taught and who conversed with administrators, teachers, parents, pupils and others;

d) Findings from seminars and workshops among teachers of moral and religious education;

e) The recommendations of general discussion groups, including one of special significance held in November 1970 as a symposium on moral and religious education and attended by a cross section of persons concerned with Protestant education.

An analysis of this data revealed to the Comité that there was a degree of consensus in the Protestant constituency on certain matters. Most Protestants thought:

1) That some form of Moral and Religious Education at both the elementary and secondary levels of education was needed.

2) That such education should be non-denominational in content, with emphasis upon moral and social development.

3) That optionality among various course offerings in moral and religious education at the high school level was desirable.

4) That the pedagogical method employed in these courses, especially at the high school level, should be inductive experiential, such as would assist students to make their own decisions on ethical dilemmas and in matters of religious belief.

5) That teachers of Moral and Religious Instruction required special education in religious studies, in the pedagogy of their subject, and in the understanding and use of groups for educational purposes.

6) That religious education specialists were needed to teach at the secondary level, but that in the elementary grades the home-room teacher should teach M.R.I.

There was little evident consensus about the value of "the first twenty minutes" for exercises of a religious and patriotic nature, nor about the propriety of the general use of the Bible or Biblical extracts in the classroom. Certain administrators and teachers were opposed to making programmes of M.R.I. compulsory either for pupils or schools. The pluralism of the school population seemed to some to indicate the need of reliance upon local decision-making with respect to moral and religious education.[8]

3. **The Meaning of "Protestant Education" and the Protestant School.** — The Comité protestant's research into the nature and history of Protestant education and the Protestant school did not result in a concise definition of Protestant education agreeable to the whole committee, nor was there agreement about the future role required of the Protestant school.

Instead, divergent opinions on these matters were uncovered. The Research Sub-Committee recorded the following three points of view in April 1973, labelling them "Reformation", "Multi-Confessional" (or "Pragmatic", "Liberal" or "Moderate"), and "Post-Christian" (or "Humanist").

(1) The Reformation View:

> Protestant Education is Christian education in the Reformation tradition. It includes the belief that study of the Bible and of religion is essential at all stages of education on both cultural and spiritual grounds, and that ideally all subjects should be taught from a Christian, though not a sectarian, point of view.
>
> A Protestant school is a confessional school under Protestant administration and is recognized as such by the Protestant Committee, in which Protestant Education is provided to all or most students.

(2) The Multi-Confessional View:

> Protestant education is the process whereby the Protestant community, recognizing the multi-confessional nature of society, exercises its legal responsibility to provide confessional public education based on the Judaeo-Christian culture, in a spirit of free inquiry and respect for differing opinions.
>
> A Protestant school is one recognized as such by the Protestant Committee, and is confessional in a broad ecumenical sense; local conditions may determine the degree of confessionality in the school.

(3) The Humanist View:

> Protestant Education (a different name would be preferred) is a process whereby the non-Roman Catholic community exercises its right to provide a non-confessional public education, based on an openness to world culture.
>
> A Protestant school (a different name would be preferred) is one in which Protestant education, as defined above, is provided. Courses in Religion(s) may be offered in such schools as part of the basis of world culture. More specific courses in a particular religious tradition may be offered if there is sufficient demand.[9]

Those favoring the "Reformation" point of view thought that individuals or groups who were not happy with definitely Protestant education should be free to organize a third or non-confessional system of schools. The "multi-confessionalists" would have Protestant schools open to all (even, perhaps, looking to a future unified school system) with provisions for moral and religious education of a varied kind. The "Humanists" believed that confessionality was now an irrelevant concept in Quebec. The multi-confessional group appeared to be in the majority on the Comité protestant in 1973. This is reflected in the **Regulation**, which represented the final consensus of the Comité. The next section of this chapter will enter into more detail concerning the rationale for the concept of confessionality finally reached by the Comité.

Though Comité members admitted diversity of opinion about the role of the Protestant school, none disagreed with Chairman William Munroe in his general description of the "Protestant spirit" which should animate the school:

> Protestantism understands and respects the convictions of the fundamentalist as well as the doubts of the agnostic; it finds expression and fulfillment in the introspection of the eremite as well as in the fervour of the revivalist. It does not stress form and structure for their own sake; but structurally it tends to be representative and democratic, rather than hierarchic and sacerdotal...
>
> Protestantism rejoices in the spirit of free inquiry;...it reserves the right to disagree but it tries at all times to show respect for the rights and opinions of others.
>
> Protestantism recognizes the ultimate mystery of Creation and Man's place in it. Many of its staunchest adherents turn to the Bible as the most reliable and primordial source of information about God, Creation and the salvation of Man; others, exercising the Protestant principle of private judgment, prefer to find their expression of Man's capacity for Goodness in the life of John Bunyan, Erasmus, Anne Frank or Dr. Tom Dooley.
>
> Protestantism has contributed to the dynamism and validity of modern science and technology; yet with the anguish of a modern parent it asserts that mere scientific knowledge, without the redressing balance of morality, spirituality, humility and wonder, may lead Man away from, rather than to, an unselfish concern for his fellow-man, a sense of the Infinite and the Unknowable, and a life fully, richly and purposely lived.[10]

B. THE CONFESSIONAL BASIS OF QUEBEC PROTESTANT EDUCATION

The Preamble of the **Regulation of the Comité protestant du Conseil supérieur de l'éducation regarding the Recognition of Educational Institutions as Protestant** (1975) denotes the confessional basis of Protestant education in Quebec thus:

> A Protestant school, from a legal viewpoint, is a group of pupils under a principal or head teacher appointed by a board elected by citizens deemed in law to be Protestant: its curricula are those laid down for Protestant schools by the Department of Education.[11]

The Regulation provides for the recognition of schools as Protestant. This is a juridical act required by Quebec law. In order to achieve recognition the school's program is expected to meet the requirements specified in the Regulation. These are directed, in general, to ensuring that courses which have as their objective "the growth of a moral and spiritual interpretation of life"[12] are provided, and that teachers and the school curriculum as a whole respect this aim. The Protestant school is thus defined by the Regulation, not in terms of the language nor the ethnicity of its pupils or constituency, but according to a religious criterion. However, "citizens deemed in law to be Protestant" include many who are not denominationally or culturally Protestant. **Jews off the Island of Montreal** are legally considered as Protestant for school purposes and any non-Protestant-non-Catholic in the province may choose to pay taxes to Protestant schools and receive all the privileges of Protestants. All schools in Quebec are now common with respect to admission of pupils (except that Catholics and Protestants are not permitted to attend the others' schools without an inter-board agreement if there is one of their own denomination available in the same territory).

Such is the juridic definition of the Protestant school. But schools and school systems have a meaning and function which can only be understood in terms of their history and the society they serve. The Protestant school connoted in the **Regulation** of 1975 thus has its rationale in the particularities of Quebec history, and in the new and changing social situation in the province. We shall here seek to set forth that rationale by reference to (1) the difference between Catholic and Protestant views of confessionality, (2) the relation of the Protestant school idea to the particularity of the Quebec context, (3) the arguments for and against the alternative futures for Quebec Protestant schools which have been proposed, and (4) the vision of the Comité protestant that schools can be Protestant and at the same time open to the various other religious traditions.

1. **The Difference between Catholic and Protestant views of confessionality.** — Protestants in Quebec have traditionally used the word "confessional" to describe Catholic schools but seldom their own. The term "denominational" with reference to Protestant schools was admitted as a legal convenience, but popular usage referred the term "denomination" to particular groups such as Anglican, Presbyterian, Baptist, Roman Catholic etc. The regulations governing Protestant schools, for instance, have always stipulated that "no denominational teaching" should be given in schools, using the popular rather than the legal meaning of the term. Other examples may be enumerated. Principal J. William Dawson, of McGill University, spoke in the nineteenth century of Protestant schools as "non-sectarian." In 1966, an inter-church Committee on Protestant Education, composed of members from the Anglican, Baptist, Presbyterian and United churches, reacted negatively to the Parent Commission Report in its use of the term "confessional" in relation to Protestant schools.

The Committee is substantially in agreement with the recommendations in the Report which advocate the secularization of schooling... but the Protestant schools can hardly be called confessional in the same sense as Roman Catholic schools. They are non-denominational. Pupils in these schools learn "about religion"; they do not study a religion.[11]

A working paper of the Comité protestant in 1970 commented: "It has been said, and with good reason, that the term 'confessional', which has been applied to our schools since 1964, is a millstone around our necks." On the other hand, Protestants in Montreal once argued that if Jews were permitted seats on school boards "the Christian character"[13] of some schools might eventually be threatened. Nor did Protestants make any protest when the Privy Council found in 1928 that Protestants as a group were a "denomination" covered under the guarantees in the B.N.A. Act. More recently, when the Quebec government projected laws which would have removed the confessional character of school boards, many Protestants protested vehemently. One can understand why Catholics in Quebec have sometimes thought that Protestants were equivocal on the matter of confessionality!

The confusion in the use of the terms "confessional" and "denominational" may be dissipated somewhat when it is frankly recognized that Catholics and Protestants refer to different realities when they use these terms in relation to their schools. The Catholic Church has a legal and official relationship to Catholic schools which Protestants have never had since the advent of public education in Quebec. Five members of the fifteen-member Comité catholique, which governs the confessional dimension of Catholic schools, are appointed by the assembly of the Catholic bishops of the Province. Protestants are named to their confessional committee through a process in which church bodies and other groups are asked to suggest names but the selection is left effectively to the Chairman of the Comité protestant and to the Protestant members of the Conseil supérieur. The latter are selected, like all members of the Conseil supérieur, "by the lieutenant-gouverneur en conseil, after consultation with the religious authorities and the associations or bodies most representative of the parents, teachers, school board members and socio-economic groups."[14] Thus, while the confessionality of Catholic schools is defined in terms of a specific ecclesiastical institution, Protestant schools have no organic connection with or official accountability to any religious organization.

As to the schools, the **Regulation of the Comité catholique** is "meant to ensure in a given school environment a truly confessional atmosphere while maintaining that high degree of academic excellence which every educational institution must possess,"[17] and to that end "pastoral animation" must be provided to make "the students and teachers aware of the objectives of Christian education and in promoting projects which will foster Christian faith."[18] The personnel of the school are normally expected to be "in communion of thought with the Catholic faith."[19] Protestants, on the other hand, do not speak of a "confessional atmosphere" in public schools, but of being "open to the testing of new ideas whenever and wherever they emerge"; of "respect for the religious convictions of parents", and of the transmission "as objectively as possible" of "the full range of their cultural heritage, including the inter-relationships of Judaeo-Christian faith, Graeco-Roman civilization and scientific and technological thought."[70] Pastoral animation is not mandatory, and there is now no stated preference for Protestant teachers though all are expected to "respect the nature of a Protestant school." It should be recognized that those attitudes in Protestant schools which Protestants like to contrast with their images of Catholic confessionality may be viewed by Catholics simply as the peculiar Protestant expression of confessionality. By the same reasoning the public schools of the United States and Ontario, for example, were "Protestant" in spirit and in intention, at least in their origins.

The rationale for a moral and religious content in education in Catholic public schools has recently undergone such a marked change that one must now speak of an older and a more modern view of confessionality among Catholics. The former position saw the Catholic school as an extension of the church in its work of forming Catholic conscience and faith-commitment to the Church. Now courses in moral and religious instruction are justified by the Comité catholique publication **Voies et Impasses** on educational grounds as related to man's quest for meaning. "The aim is not indoctrination," **Voies et impasses** maintains, "but the emergence of personal liberty with regard to the world's religions."[71] A neutral approach to this task is, however, rejected:

> A certain secular ideal proposes that young people be introduced to all religions, assigning equal importance to each and letting each student make his own personal choice. Here... we glimpse the concept of the school as a market place where every type of religious merchandise is available. This notion is refuted by the most elementary data of pedagogy and experience.[72]

As in language education, **Voies et Impasses** argues, the learner must begin with his mother-tongue, so in religion he must first imbibe his "mother" religion, which in North America is Christian, and for the majority of the pupils in Quebec's Catholic schools, Catholic. Religious education in these schools is expected "to guide young people in their search for and discovery of the content of faith, to lead them to the threshold of a personal choice."[73] **Voies et Impasses** suggests that schools "should offer actual experience of contact with God by prayer, feast and liturgy,"[74] presumably in the Catholic tradition. Information about and appreciation of other than Catholic approaches to faith and religion are, however, permitted and encouraged.[75]

Religious instruction in Catholic schools is compulsory up to the second year of secondary school. In the advanced levels of secondary school education, students may choose, as options to Catholic studies, courses in moral education or the study of religions. Exemption from religious studies and observances is available at every level. The exemptees are offered, where their numbers are sufficient, a general moral instruction course. Pluralism in Catholic schools which was increasing markedly since 1971 when school law made all schools common has recently been accentuated in the francophone sector because of the language laws which require immigrants to attend francophone schools. This unaccustomed religious pluralism in many Catholic schools creates a contemporary challenge for educators in these schools.

Moral and religious education in Protestant schools differs in its purpose from that in Catholic schools far less than formerly, but the difference is still significant. The Comité protestant insists that it is not the task of the school to teach an explicit denominational commitment, but that it ought to provide opportunities for pupils to come into contact with the religious ideas and literature of our culture and to explore the questions of value and meaning which religion represents. A Comité protestant study has put the matter thus:

> While not prescribing any specific moral and religious position, the Protestant school does not arbitrarily exclude from consideration various approaches relating to meaning and ultimate value. MRI recognizes the Protestant tradition which upholds the individual's right to question, to consider, and to reach his own understanding of religious teachings.[34]

2. **The Particularity of the Quebec Context.** — The uniqueness of Quebec among the Canadian provinces with respect to culture is obvious. At the risk of over-simplification it may be stated that Quebec has a culture shaped by French Canadian and Catholic influence while the other provinces have more or less dominant anglophone cultures with strong Protestant antecedents. But what is not so often realized by non-Quebec Canadians is that the particular history and culture of the province has given its own parameters to the pattern of educational organization.

Both Upper and Lower Canada instituted, in the 1840s, common schools, from which religious minorities had the right of dissent, and freedom to establish their own public institutions. But, in Quebec, there was never any question about the support of dissentient schools by government funds as well as by local taxes. Though in Ontario many Catholics chose the common school as a preference, or as a second-best alternative when finances proved inadequate (there was no denominational teaching permitted), Protestants in Quebec could not, in good conscience, enrol their children in the common schools dominated by Catholic clerical influence and featuring Catholic doctrinal teaching. Protestants could, and did, establish many dissentient schools in the rural areas of Quebec. Montreal and Quebec City had, from 1846, separate Catholic and Protestant school commissions. Thus almost all schools developed a strict Catholic or Protestant identity. Difference in language was a complicating factor. English-speaking and French-speaking Catholics had a linguistic and cultural barrier between them; but English-speaking Protestants, since French Protestants did not have until recent years an effective influence, experienced a double wall of faith and language between themselves and their French-speaking fellow-citizens.

Immigrants of non-Catholic origin tended to enrol in Protestant schools, whatever their faith. Protestants felt a responsibility for them, and welcomed their children; increasingly, however, common ground for students and teachers was in language rather than faith. But Catholics, though having to provide a certain autonomy for anglophone Catholics within the school system, could continue, because of the explicitness of Catholic teaching and the relative denominational homogeneity of their schools to count on a certain unity in values which transcended language and race. The determination of both French and English not to be assimilated into the other's culture, combined with strong denominational loyalties, meant that in Quebec the pattern of education took the form of a mosaic with provisions made for major differences in culture and values.

By the 1960s, as the Quiet Revolution gathered momentum, most people in Quebec felt that changes in the educational system were needed. The Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education was united in its desire to remodel the system in such a way that the old barriers would be more permeable and a sharing of privilege and responsibility among all groups facilitated.

Its members were well aware of the archaic appearance of a dual confessional educational system in a province where there were now many religious minorities of various degrees of strength and increasing numbers who espoused no religion or who took anti-religious stances. But they also understood and respected the tradition in Catholic Quebec espousing confessional schools; and if Catholic rights in education were to be maintained then the same should hold for Protestants, especially in view of the provisions of the B.N.A. Act. After studying various patterns represented by educational systems around the world, the Commission recommended in 1966 that both confessional (Catholic and Protestant) and non-confessional education be made available to Quebec children, that the confessional status of each school be determined locally, and that there be unified school boards everywhere in Quebec which would be neutral with respect to religious options. The Commission recommended further that non-confessional schools give moral, and possibly religious, education[17] and that all schools, both confessional and non-confessional, provide for the moral and religious needs of the minorities attending them.

The attitude of Protestants toward the option of non-confessional education was open, for the most part, but ambivalent. They could not but approve the principle of more fully providing for freedom of conscience, but many regarded their own system as already occupying a non-confessional ground with respect to moral and religious instruction. The Comité protestant called upon the government,

> To explore completely the possibility of establishing non-confessional education within the existing framework of confessional schools in the hope that the needs of this group would be met within such a framework.[18]

But despite advocacy through the years by the provincial government and by the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation, which has always considered that one of its roles is the study and promotion of the interests of the non-Catholic-non-Protestant minorities, attempts to promote non-confessional schools have so far failed, with the exception of a few such in isolated areas in northern Quebec. Reasons for this have been the inability of the diverse groups expected to favor non-confessional schools or classes to find a common basis for discussion and planning and the unwillingness of many to promote an educational ghetto. The present "Plan d'Action" of the Quebec ministère de l'Education envisions non-confessional classes and schools within the confessional structures of education.

The recommendations of the Parent Commission and the proposals from Quebec governments with respect to unified, non-confessional school boards, have, from the first, met with opposition from the majority of anglophone Protestants.[29] Some feared that the persistence of English culture in the province was at stake when such plans placed anglophone schools under the authority of a board which would no doubt often have a majority of francophones. Even Protestants who favored an eventual complete unification of the educational system in Quebec were inclined to think that it would be a mistake for the government to impose the plan before the two language groups had had time to work together in other ways and had built up some mutual trust. Some Catholics also saw unification as a threat to Catholic schools. A general re-organization of school boards was accomplished throughout Quebec in laws passed in 1971 and 1972. These laws erected confessional school boards almost everywhere in Quebec. Schools are, however, common with respect to admission of pupils. In 1977 a committee on re-organization set up by the Conseil scolaire de l'île de Montreal recommended provision for school boards on a language basis in the Catholic sector, and for French-language non-confessional boards, but the Protestant school boards were to remain intact. The Conseil de l'île has not acted on the recommendation, however, and the **status quo** has been retained.

Confessional school boards are now advocated perhaps more fervently than ever by anglophone Protestants in Quebec. The policies of the centralized ministère de l'Education have often been experienced by them as cutting into the autonomy of schools and school boards. Quite different assumptions as to priorities, methods, and ways of organizing have emphasized the cultural gap (hitherto veiled by the "two solitudes") between French and English. The language laws have had the effect of making some anglophones feel and act like a persecuted minority, and have inclined them to view the confessional system of Protestant education as a means of preserving the English cultural identity.

One aspect of the uniqueness of Quebec education must be underlined: its traditional adherence to the principle that the purposes of education have much to do with religious beliefs and values which lie deeper in culture than the mores associated with race, nation, and language. Despite the dominance of Catholicism in Quebec, the right of Protestants (and to some extent that of Jews) to found an educational system based on their own values was acknowledged and maintained. The laws of 1964 set the old pattern in new structures to suit modern needs. They intentionally employed the principles of "freedom of conscience" and of respect for differences of religious belief and non-belief. Provision was thus made for parents to choose an education for their children corresponding to certain deeply held affirmations of value connected with teachings about the meaning of life and about the human response those meanings required. The alternative, a common educational system such as existed in other provinces, was never possible in Quebec, because Catholics, who were in the majority, refused to dilute the religious dimension of education in favor of some other basis of unity, and Protestants could not accept for their children education in Catholic values.

This Catholic opposition to the educational melting pot has, perhaps, something to teach Protestants. Common school systems have often based their unity on the principle of ignoring profound differences in value in favor of superficial unities connected with conventional social values, the requirements of citizenship, or perhaps national sentiment. Frequently these do not receive proper perspective or critical evluation because more universal principles are not considered. The shrinking world of to-day calls for a world focus and commitment rather than the perpetuation of a closed nationalism. Deeper values than those promoted by purely conventional or nationalistic principles are required to mould that world citizenship. Catholics may have been wise in maintaining that religious values cannot be ignored in education, as if these were matters of taste or optional. Values rise from beliefs held by the individual with considerable emotion attached; they derive in great measure from influences unconsciously absorbed in childhood. Though beliefs may become conscious and can be evaluated there remain strata of deeper-than-rational forces which continue to inform behaviour, attitudes, ways of thinking, and choices. All persons have such "religious" values, whether they label them as such or not. Schools can ignore religious questions only at the risk of giving a superficial education.

Protestants, on the other hand, have evidenced their particular wisdom in deprecating the hostilities which developed in Europe when differences at the religious level were used to set person against person. They sought to build in the new world an order of society where disputes about religious dogma could not radically divide a nation. Is it not one of the chief objects of education, never fully achieved, to expand as far as possible the boundaries within which persons in a common society may exercise mutual care rather than blame and hatred? The **Regulation** of the Comité protestant, profiting by learnings from both Catholic and Protestant examples, and from the particularity of the context provided by Quebec educational history, is directed towards an education which openly admits and honours its own religious foundation, but which teaches all pupils to respect persons different from themselves and to value the opportunity for expanded learning which the pluralistic school offers.

3. **The Alternatives.** — The Comité protestant formulated the **Regulation** of 1975 in a period of widespread discussion among Protestants about the character and future role of the Protestant educational system and Protestant schools in Quebec. This debate has not ceased. But the

arguments **pro** and **con** the various alternatives and the evidence of a growing consensus, both among its own members and the Protestant population generally assisted the Comité protestant to arrive at the concept of confessionality conveyed in the **Regulation**.

Fairly widespread among Protestants in the early seventies, for instance, was the view that Quebec education should be re-organized on a linguistic basis. In this scenario, all anglophones (Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Orthodox, and others) would form one school system, and French-speaking Quebecers another. The idea seemed logical, simple, and modern. One of the factors too easily overlooked by Protestants, however, was the question as to whether English-speaking Catholics in Quebec really wished to surrender their treasured confessional system which, in Quebec, gave them more than the minimal rights and status allowed Catholics in some of the "melting-pot" provinces. It turned out that they did not. There were also other difficulties. Revisions in the B.N.A. Act and in provincial law would be required if the new anglophone system were to receive constitutional guarantees. If such changes replaced the guarantees given to Protestants, then French Protestants would be deprived of their rights,[30] and so also would those Protestants who desired a confessional system to which they were entitled by law. For some Protestants the most convincing argument against the plan derived from a consideration of their responsibility for the future of Quebec and of Canada. The arguments for a linguistically based system appeared to rise from no deeper principle than social convenience, or from purely defensive needs to preserve at all costs the cultural **status quo**. Surely, what was needed now was not a further solidification of the language walls between French and English, but a greater permeability with opportunity for communication and growth in understanding wherever this was at all possible.[31] The "separatist" alternative thus seemed to some to be a retrograde, or at least, an uncreative alternative.

A very different opinion was one which held that Protestant education should become more distinctly confessional and Protestant, even if this meant a reduced number of pupils, teachers, and schools. Protestant schools would welcome non-Protestant pupils whose parents desired to give them a Protestant education; but the province should, it was considered, make available other alternatives for those who did not. This position also had the virtues of logical clarity and simplicity. Should not Protestant education parallel the explicitness of the Catholic confessional model using, of course, a process and content appropriate to Protestant convictions? Was not the greatest challenge of education to-day to help young people in a secular age form principles based on clearly defined beliefs, in an atmosphere which did not contradict the values of the Protestant home? Such a plan called for courage; it would perhaps not be popular with the general public, but it would clarify the ambiguities that had befogged Protestant education in Quebec for over a century. Further the position had a strong legal foundation because both the B.N.A. Act and provincial educational legislation were clear that the Protestant system belonged to the citizens of Quebec who could be defined as Protestants. The law constituting the Comité protestant had given it the duty of making "regulations respecting Christian education, religious and moral instruction, and religious services in the educational institutions recognized as... Protestant..."[32]

But there were also grave difficulties in the way of realistically implementing such a plan. Protestant education in Québec had never been confessional in the full Catholic sense: schools had always been open to the children of other faiths and of no-faith, and their opinions on such matters respected. The imposition of an exclusive Protestantism on the schools would probably lead to its rejection by the majority even of Protestants, who would perceive the proposals as alien to the traditional norms in Protestant education in Quebec. It would also seriously threaten the implicit contractual agreement which had historically bound various kinds and denominations of Protestants in this common cause. What type of Protestantism would the schools now be expected to reflect? The whole ancient debate on the matter would have to be re-opened. The question could be asked whether the idea did not stem from a mistaken quest for purity of form which betrayed a "holier-than thou" attitude.[33] If so, was it not a profoundly irresponsible attitude with respect to the majority of "Protestants" in Quebec schools? And also, were Protestants going to permit the imprisonment of their children in a sheltered ghetto, ill-provided to acquaint them with the world of values different from their own, but with which they would have to live as adults?

A third proposal, that of transforming the Protestant educational system and Protestant schools into a bilingual neutral or non-confessional one, also seemed to have strong arguments in its favour. The process might begin simply by removing the word Protestant wherever possible! The curriculum of the schools, even in moral and religious education, was not far removed from contemporary practice in the United States, Ontario, and even France, all with professedly non-denominational public systems of education. Was this not the direction Protestant education had been moving all along? Was it not the sensible solution in a modern, pluralistic world? Certainly it would solve the old and vexing problem of the rights of religious minorities in the system. Anyway, the "post-Christian age" was hardly the time to maintain the image of semi-official public Protestantism in the schools.

But once again the simplicity of this plan was deceptive. Certain truths born of the Quebec context could not be so easily by-passed. Changes in the B.N.A. Act would be required if there were to be constitutional guarantees for the anglophone minority. The rights of those who wanted confessional education could hardly be superseded as long as some parents wanted the confesional option. It was not at all certain that public opinion in Quebec would allow Protestants to upset the traditional parallelism by which so much in Quebec education was defined. Would the majority permit the Protestant system to become non-confessional simply because some asked for it? Through the years Catholics had seemed at times more adamant than Protestants that Protestant education remain confessional. The Conseil supérieur de l'éducation had not acceded to the request of the Comité protestant to admit Jewish representation to its membership, partly at least because they felt the confessional principle would be compromised.[34] A non-confessional anglophone system could not simply replace Protestant education; it would have to live alongside it.

The matter of alternative models was also a serious problem for Protestants considering a neutral school system. The terms "neutral" and "non-confessional" were negative; they conveyed nothing about the values, beliefs, purposes and objectives on which any educational system must be built. There were noteworthy extant models in the world, but none, on close inspection, seemed to fit adequately the Quebec scene. France had a relatively homogeneous national culture to serve as a basis for its secular system. American public education was the product of a culture with strong Protestant roots and represented a "melting-pot" theory of dealing with ethnic and religious differences; the success of this option depended upon the existence of a powerful cultural group which could assimilate others to its general norms. But anglo-saxon anglophones no longer had such power in their pluralistic Protestant constituency. The Ontario model and that of other Canadian provinces was also of this general type. Moreover, the public school systems in France and the United States, constructed on principles which implied an extreme separation of the responsibilities of church and state, seemed to obscure the link between moral values and religious belief, a difficulty which Protestant education in Quebec had avoided (at least theoretically) in the past.[35] Public schools in the United States and Canada were frequently criticized for their failure to help pupils acquire an acceptable system of values and "Christian" schools had begun to proliferate in reaction to the presumed lack of value education in public schools. Such sentiments, also present in Quebec, would ensure the continuance of a Protestant confessional system if neutral schools were established. Any system of neutral schools in Quebec would, it seemed, have to be built on an artificial sociological and ideological base.[36] But the unities which make a social system operative are not manufactured; they are discovered. The Protestant educational system of Quebec already possessed a history and represented certain values which gave a unity to its education. What would be gained by upsetting an effective system which for years had contributed vitality to the life of Quebec, and substituting it with a new one of no certain inspiration?

Still another scenario for public education in Quebec, (one espoused by a great many more French-speaking Quebecers than by anglophones), was that which envisioned "unified" school boards. The unified system, recommended by the Parent Report and the Conseil supérieur, and proposed by provincial governments in 1969 and 1971, would have set up regional school boards across linguistic and confessional lines. The boards would provide for schools in the two languages and of three types as to confession: Catholic, Protestant, and non-confessional. The confessional status of the schools would be determined by local parents committees.

The arguments for the unified system were its democracy and its economy: every citizen would exercise responsibility for the totality of education, resources would be shared, and the disparate linguistic and religious sectors of Quebec society would be brought into greater communication. Few Protestants disputed the theoretical principle of unity: everyone is for unity as an ideal, as long as it is unity according to his terms! The question was whether it was desirable to entrust their schools to school boards which would undoubtedly be dominated by francophones and Catholics not intimate with the spirit and needs of Protestant schools. The various plans for unification of school boards did not seem able to project a completely satisfactory solution to the question of safeguards for freedom of conscience. The idea of a "neutral" school board hardly corresponded to life's realities. No person could be entirely neutral about the value-assumptions which were integral to personhood. Unified boards needed mechanisms for clarification and evaluation of basic principles and for the maintenance of the possibility of dissent. Unity would be a hollow pose, indeed, if it simply veiled a lack of resolution. The inability of a unified board to establish a **modus vivendi** at a fairly deep level of shared values would result in its direction being either rigidly authoritarian and conformist (to offset any appearance of weakness) or permissive and undisciplined. Would it not be a pity if commonality were to be found only at the level of the technical or with only the vaguest terms of reference?

Though some Protestants espoused the ideal of a unified educational system as a goal for the future, most agreed that this must wait upon the readiness on the part of all parties to grow in mutual understanding and to make the necessary compromises without sacrificing the values deemed essential. Unified boards were thus not regarded as feasible at this time in Quebec history.

4. **The Protestant School.** — The Comité protestant's 1975 Regulation governing Protestant schools in Quebec presumes, then, the continuance of schools which will provide children with an education in accord with the Protestant spirit represented by such schools in the past, but which will continue to provide a welcoming climate for children of other than Protestant religious beliefs, and for those who make no religious profession of a denominational character.

How is it possible for schools to communicate values desired by Protestant parents for their children, and yet be guilty of neither proselytization nor exclusion of pupils who are not Protestant? The answer lies in the character of the Protestant school itself, which engages to teach such fundamental values as Protestants of very different religious loyalties share, and which promotes a program of religious education which is objective in character and intention. Since the values shared by Protestants are common to a very wide circle of Quebec's citizens, there can be no exclusivity on a narrow ecclesiastical basis.

The values associated with critical responsibility and openness to new learning were considered by the framers of the **Regulation** to be foundational for any programme of Protestant education.[17] Freedom of conscience, respect for the law and for the rights of other persons and communities, responsibility, co-operation and community-building, the making of free moral choices out of well thought out personal convictions, social concern, humility before the wonder of the universe and of the unknown, and delight in the creative use of the imagination were recognized as attitudes fundamental to the dignity of human personhood. Among the attitudes necessarily precluded if Protestant education is to be true to its principles, are the ridiculing and trivializing of religion or of the religious search, cynicism, purely self-seeking views of life, dogmatism from whatever quarter, any desire to establish persons in dependence upon uncriticized ideologies, and the manipulation of persons to be a forced service of the needs of another.

The gifts required in teachers would include: warm, outgoing concern for each pupil; self-understanding and self-control; a certain shrewdness about the character of human motivation; the willingness to make realistic assessments of a pupil's development; an interest in experimentation; relative ease with ambiguity and with the lack of clear or final answers to life's questions; and the possession of an open, questing mind.

The **Regulation** makes it clear that moral and religious education must be offered in the Protestant school but that it was not meant to replace that for which the home and the community of faith claim responsibility. Rather, it is designed to further pupils' appreciation of the stories, language, and ideas of their own and other religious traditions and to help them, at appropriate levels, to wrestle with the questions of life's meaning and purpose.

The choice of a confessional rather than a linguistic or ethnic criterion by which to define Protestant schools was supported by the Comité protestant in the conviction that the confessional system by insuring that the focus of education be on fundamental values, rather than merely linguistic, cultural or national ones (though these too are important) could best bring students into contact with those more universal concerns with which persons of all times and places have wrestled. Religious and philosophical beliefs, taking different approaches to the search for meaning and espousing various beliefs and value-ideals, represent more fundamental human differences than does language.[38] Disagreements between races or language groups may often be the result only of prejudices, feelings of threatened identity, and a seemingly universal propensity among the world's peoples to fear that which is unlike themselves; differences in belief about the meaning and purpose of life, when these are based on sincere and deeply-considered convictions (and not prejudice), are differences of conscience and, so, profound. The position of the Comité protestant is that these differences should be explored and that the common search is itself a basis for unity. Protestants recognize that their own way is but one approach among others which may, with good reason, be taken.

Thus far bemoaning the pluralism of society today, Protestants have recognized the enriching possibilities of multi-faith, multi-ethnic, and bilingual schools. The acceptance of differences of all kinds is of the essence of democratic life. Is it not broadening for pupils to be exposed to a plurality of life-styles and cultures? And does not closer acquaintance with other cultures and faiths give a Protestant, a Jew, or another the possibility of a greater objectivity and perspective upon his or her own heritage? The assumptions of superiority which too often afflict the minds of persons who know but one accustomed way may, by such education, be avoided.

The vision of the Comité protestant for Protestant education in Quebec, implicit and explicit in the **Regulation** of 1975, was that it would form a distinct option among those to be offered in Quebec. It would differ from Catholic education in that it would maintain no accountability to, or dependence upon, a church, synagogue, political or philosophical society; it would not present as normative any of the beliefs and practices peculiar to particular churches or religions, nor would it seek to induce a faith commitment. But unlike non-confessional education which may have to remain neutral or passive on the question of the value of religious belief, Protestant education would affirm the importance of the search for a faith and would help students wrestle with the questions related to life purpose. The school would help students to clarify their values and to become informed about religious symbols and ideas. The Jewish-Christian heritage and the Bible, sources of many of the most important religious and moral ideas of Western civilization, would be studied. Moral education in Protestant schools would help persons develop moral maturity in a programme based initially on a sense of wonder and (cognizant that there is a morality proper to the stages of persons' growth) would place pupils in an environment where law and individual rights are respected, concern for universal justice upheld, and where persons are helped to internalize well-grounded principles upon which to base their decision-making.

Support for confessional structures of education in Quebec does not imply that the Comité protestant means to close forever the door upon other alternatives. Such a stance would represent a violation of the principle, cherished by Protestants, that the future must be kept open. The future may make it possible for Catholics and "Protestants" in Quebec to join forces in a system which would provide full space for all heritages and would offer the advantage of closer discussion and mutual learning.[39] Or, perhaps better still, there might develop in the future a unified system of education in Quebec which could provide structures within itself for the present confessional options as well as cultural and linguistic variations.

On the other hand, many Protestants of both language groups fear what they feel to be homogenizing trends in Quebec today. Protection for their schools is now provided in part by the B.N.A. Act; but these rights should be enshrined also in any future revision of the Canadian or of the Quebec constitution. Quebec's educational laws and structures have always implied (and do still) that the Protestant contribution to culture is desired. And the Conseil supérieur and the confessional committees must continue to act as safeguards against any temptation a future government of Quebec might have to force a state ideology upon the educational system.

C. THE PROVISIONS OF THE REGULATION OF 1975: A GENERAL SUMMARY

THE 1975 Regulation of the Comité protestant states as its general intent that it seeks to render explicit the concern of the community for the transmission of its total heritage, with complete respect for all religious and philosophical options.[40]

The guiding principles of the Regulation may, in the light of this purpose, be enumerated thus:

A. Protestant education must be defined not only in terms of explicit provisions for moral and religious education, but also with respect to the ideal values upheld and promoted throughout school life at all levels. These values are considered to be basic to a free and open society. This "Protestant spirit" is manifest in the aims of education asserted in the preamble to the Regulation:

1. To promote excellence of educational standards open to the testing of new ideas whenever and wherever they emerge;
2. To be aware of and have a respect for the religious convictions of parents (or guardians) whose children attend Protestant schools;
3. To provide an education conducive to the fullest development of personality and an awareness of human worth;
4. To ensure that moral and religious instruction is based upon sound educational principles and is related to life and experience;
5. To transmit, as objectively as possible, the full range of its cultural heritage, including the inter-relationships of Judaeo-Christian faith, Graeco-Roman civilization and scientific and technological thought.[41]

Ideals implied in these aims include:

1. The freedom of the individual to interpret spiritual and moral questions according to his conscience;
2. The importance of fostering in the minds of pupils a moral and spiritual interpretation of life;
3. The need to encourage a sense of responsible citizenship in each child;
4. The desirability of acquiring a knowledge of the Bible.[42]

The recognition that moral and religious values interpenetrate the whole of education, and that there must be a distinct supervisory responsibility in that respect, led the framers of the Loi du Conseil supérieur to place with the confessional committees the duty of approving or disapproving from the point of view of religion and morals the texts or other educational material available for use in schools. The Comité has published guidelines to help educators evaluate materials for moral and religious acceptability in a booklet, **What is "Acceptable"?**

B. The confessional basis for Protestant education in Quebec is assumed in the **Regulation**. The juridical definition of the Protestant school notes that school boards are "elected by citizens deemed in law to be Protestant."[illegible] The latter may, as we have seen,[illegible] include non-Protestants. The Comité protestant is also given by the Loi du Conseil supérieur the duty of "recognizing" Protestant schools. Recognition is defined as "the juridical act whereby the Comité protestant of the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation recognizes ex officio, or on request, that an educational institution, public or private, is Protestant."[illegible] The **Regulation** states that the Comité protestant must insure that three conditions are fulfilled before granting recognition to schools as Protestant. These are that the school

(a) observes the Regulation of the Committee;

(b) follows the curricula and makes use of textbooks and teaching materials approved or authorized by the Committee for moral and religious instruction;

(c) in all other disciplines follows the curricula and uses textbooks approved, from the point of view of religion and morals, by the Committee.[illegible]

C. The **Regulation** stipulates that explicit teaching of courses in moral and religious education must be offered in schools which are to be recognized as Protestant. The general aim of such instruction is stated as "the growth of a moral and spiritual interpretation of life."[illegible] Though it is recognized that much education in values takes place through implicit rather than explicit learning, yet the study of the Bible, religion, and ethics are regarded as also capable of academic treatment and are deemed at least as necessary as any other subject. The **Regulation** of 1975 requires Protestant schools to conduct courses based on Bible study ("the Old or New Testaments or both"), which are deemed essential to Protestant education or "courses of study dealing with world religions, philosophy or ethics, personal development, human relations and social problems"[illegible] or both of the above.[illegible] Schools are expected to pay particular attention to the quality of such courses in order "to develop in the pupil a growing awareness of moral and religious values, the broadening of his socio-spiritual culture and experience, and regard for the pupil's personal development in faith and religion."[illegible] Thus, in its provisions for explicit moral and religious education, the **Regulation** is designed to keep schools open to a wide constituency while also attempting to preserve the centrality of Protestant studies.

D. The right of parents to control influences upon the developing consciences of their children is respected. While parental rights have been modified by the institution of compulsory education and by the recognition of the right of every child to an education, the religious and moral care of the child, deemed by Protestants as of even greater priority than education in citizenship, remains the responsibility of the parents. Therefore the **Regulation** states regarding the courses in Moral and Religious Instruction and religious activities:

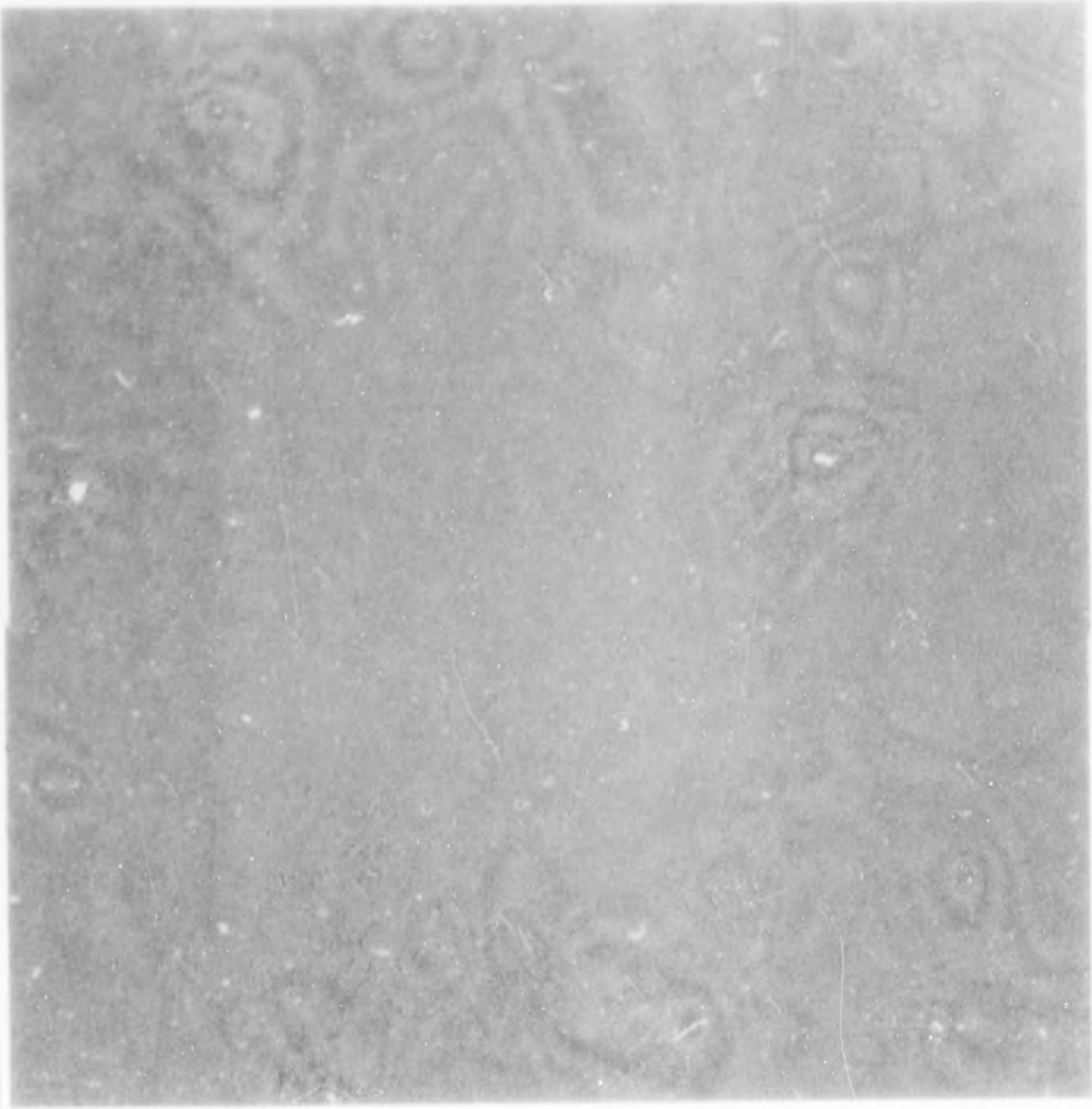
> No student shall be required to follow such courses or participate in such activities, if, for reasons of conscience, a request to this effect is made in writing to the head of the institution by the pupil's father, mother or guardian. In the case of pupils of the age of maturity the pupil's own written request on conscientious grounds shall be accepted.[17]

It should be observed that the conscience clause is applicable to individual pupils, not to schools or classes.

E. Freedom of conscience is respected and encouraged throughout the **Regulation**. It is specifically stated that there should be no "indoctrination of the pupils with a denominational point of view."[18] Moral and religious education is not aimed at commitment to specific churches or religions but at achieving such qualities as openness to learning, delight in exploration, seriousness about the purpose of life, recognition of the importance of the religious quest, and knowledge of the ideas and literature of the religious heritage of the race. It is presumed that the Bible enshrines [illegible] for most pupils in Protestant schools and that therefore it should be studied. Teachers, under the **Regulation**, are not required to profess to be Jewish or Protestant or to conform to the Judaeo-Christian tradition. They may be exempt from participating in any specifically religious activity if, on grounds of conscience, they request it. Every teacher is, however, required to "respect the nature of a Protestant school as set forth in this Regulation."[19] Schools are asked to employ academically qualified teachers for moral and religious education. But no requirement with respect to membership in a religious organization is made.

This explanation of the 1975 **Regulation of the Comité protestant** has sought to show its integrity with historic Protestant principles and with the development of Protestant education in Quebec. We have observed that the deepest springs of renewal in Protestant education must rise from the recovery of those values which form its essential spirit, and which have been expressed traditionally as: responsibility and respect for persons, a sense of the practical, the spirit of free inquiry and openness to the future, the importance of individual decision, respect for the rights of parents in the moral and religious education of their children, an orientation to the world and to work, and the treasuring of the Bible. The importance of certain other values of importance to Protestants has been noted: the need of honouring and nourishing in young and old the sense of wonder, out of which all knowledge and reverence grows; the refusal to countenance falsification of individual conscience by any attempt to enforce ideological conformity; the understanding that democratic countries ask for the voluntary surrender of certain individual freedoms for the sake of an order to benefit all, and that principles of justice are applicable to all persons regardless of religion, race, or social status.

It is not contended here that such principles are original with Protestantism or that they are absent from other systems of education. The Reformation, it is held by Protestants, only re-discovered principles which were already present in Christianity, in Hebraic thought, and in other religions. But there is special danger today that these principles may be lost or obscured in the confusion of values in our time. The **Regulation** gives a framework in which Protestant education may be helped to face the new and old challenges that belong to its task.



CHAPTER SIX

PROGRAMMES AND POLICIES FOR MORAL AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN QUEBEC PROTESTANT SCHOOLS

The Regulation of the Protestant Committee stipulates that schools in Quebec which are recognized as Protestant must give attention to the moral and religious dimension of education. Beginning first with a note of some parallel developments in educational systems outside the province, we shall in this chapter describe the principles which regulate the policy of the Comité protestant with repect to moral and religious education, and briefly indicate the purpose and content of the explicit programmes authorized by the Comité.

A. SOME DEVELOPMENTS IN MORAL AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS OUTSIDE QUEBEC:

The confessional public school systems of Quebec (Protestant and Catholic) display by no means the only examples of the modern trend to define the purposes of moral and religious instruction in terms proper to public schooling rather than to those of the religious community. Most educational systems of the Western world have taken this step. The issues raised by this transition in England, the United States, Ontario, and France are of particular relevance to the task in Quebec.

1. **England's Birmingham Agreed Syllabus.** — Since 1870 English schools have worked with "Agreed Syllabi" in moral and religious education. These are courses based on content and procedures acceptable to the major Christian denominations. Since the Butler Act of 1944 such courses have been compulsory for schools under government authority. The Agreed Syllabi have generally assumed that their purpose was to foster Christian faith and nurture discipleship. But in the controversial **Birmingham Agreed Syllabus** this tradition has been broken. John M. Hull of the school of Education University of Birmingham, has described the purposes of the new syllabus as:

> The contribution which could be made by religious education to community life in a plural society,...the development of a critical understanding of religion, and enabling pupils to formulate their own personal philosophies and outlooks as a result of their encounter with world religions.[1]

Whereas previous syllabi reflected agreement among denominations as to the content to be taught, the Birmingham syllabus asked for agreement on the task to be accomplished. "What do we all hold to be worth studying?"[2] is the question asked. In this way the dangers of a syllabus representing the "lowest common denominator" of religious belief is transcended.

The Birmingham syllabus is proving influential in England. Against criticism that it tends to foster agnosticism because of its "neutral" approach to religious phenomena, Hull defends the syllabus thus:

> The syllabus is certainly impartial between the religions and also (as far as eliciting belief goes) between the religious and secular ideologies. But this impartiality is itself an expression of values and springs from commitment. Religious education of this kind is not

> found in Islamic Pakistan, Communist China or Christian South Africa. It seems to appear only in the Western democracies, and its major advocate and ally (although by no means its only one) is Christian faith.[3]

Hull suggests that if churches accept the view that a "good, open, critical, informative, freedom-enhancing education"[4] furthers rather than retards the ultimate developmental aims of the Christian communities, then "the churches' mission in education is to safeguard the open secularity of education and to preserve genuine pluralism."[5] Certainly the creativity of religious institutions in a secularized world must depend upon members whose commitment is not of the hot-house kind, but intelligent and imaginative, undertaken with a full awareness of its implications. The truth, Protestants believe, can only be furthered by open-minded criticism.

2. **The United States Supreme Court Decisions.** — In the United States, a series of Supreme Court decisions in the early 1960s has given a new direction to moral and religious education in the public schools. The rulings upheld the contention that, in the light of the First Amendment to the Constitution (which declared against any official establishment of a religion in the United States), the use of the Bible and of religious exercises for devotional or faith-nurturing purposes in the public schools is unconstitutional. Also emphasized in these decisions, however, was the necessity of respecting religious beliefs, and the recognition that religion must be dealt with as a subject in schools if young people are to receive a full education. One such judgment held:

> It might well be said that one's education is not complete without a study of comparative religion and its relationship to the advancement of civilization. It certainly may be said that the Bible is worthy of study for its own literary and historic qualities. Nothing we have said here indicates that such study of the Bible or of religion, when presented objectively as part of a secular program of education, may not be effected consistent with the First Amendment.[6]

Nicholas Piediscalzi, Co-Director of the Public Education Religion Studies Centre in Dayton, Ohio, told delegates to the 1977 Conferance of the Ecumenical Study Commission on Public Education in Canada, held in Toronto, that these decisions have led to "a dramatic increase in the number of schools offering courses in religious studies"[7] in the United States. Piediscalzi reported that a number of new curricula based on these assumptions had been published and that there had been "an increase in teacher training and certification in religious studies."[8]

The approach to religious education suggested by the Supreme Court decisions had, of course, been advocated by educators in the United States long before 1963. Merton Strommen has given an account in

Research on Religious Development of a 1951 doctoral research project on the role of religion in public education which observed:

> Teaching about religion should be a definitive part of the school curriculum for the reasons that it is part of our total culture, it affects the living of every person, religions have played significant roles in the history of the world, many people of the world today find sanction for their behaviour and explanations for their questions in the revelations of religion, and children inevitably raise questions that are concerned about issues that, by common consent are religious in character.[9]

Despite such sentiments, religious studies in United States public education are admittedly in an exploratory stage and there is probably still no clear consensus as to what should be taught or how.[10] One of the difficulties for Americans is that of appropriately dealing with the relation of religious education, which must be approached "objectively," to that of moral education, which for them is largely inspired by the unifying principles of citizenship drawn from a "civil religion" based on American legends and myth in combination with Protestant and Biblical values. A new concept of objectivity, which allows for a critical approach in both the moral and religious realms and which does not rest on the assumption that "objective" means "neutral," may hold promise for unifying these artificially-split concerns.

3. **Ontario — The Mackay Report.** — Ontario had developed a pattern of religious education in which clergy taught classes after school hours but on the school premises. But in 1944 a law was passed which allowed and encouraged the classroom teacher to give moral and religious instruction in two weekly half-hour periods of class time. The course of study was based on English materials of a faith-nurtural type and was thus specifically Christian in orientation. The programme was effective at first but ran into increasing public opposition. It was said to ignore the rights of minorities and to take no account of the increasingly secular composition of the schools. Some Christian groups joined in the criticism on the basis that the course contravened their principles with respect to the separation of church and state. A Committee on Religious Education in the Public Schools of the Province of Ontario under the chairmanship of J. Keiller Mackay was struck in 1966 to study the situation. They brought in their report in 1969. The **Mackay Report** advocated the discontinuance of the current programmes of religious studies in elementary schools (including Bible Reading in the opening exercises and all study of the Bible) and an abandonment of the purposes that the legislation effecting the programme had in mind. The report declared:

> The present course of studies in religious education has failed in its first obligation, teaching, because it is not designed in accordance with modern principles of education. It does not provide for the objective examination of evidence, nor stimulate the inquiring mind; it does not teach children to think for themselves either about the facts of religion or about ethical matters. Instead it presents

> Bible stories and religious ideas which may have little relation to the daily life of children, and it sometimes does so in terms that are offensive to many.

It was, however, affirmed that:

> It is an essential function of the educational system to instil knowledge about religion, as well as to develop the ideals, attitudes, and values derived from our heritage, of which religion forms so great a part. The cultural advantages of the study of world religions are self-evident. The Scriptures are the world's great literary treasure. History, literature, art and music cannot be understood or appreciated without an adequate background of religious knowledge. Equally important are the ethical values inherited from religion.[11]

The recommendation of the **MacKay Report** with respect to the moral aspect of education was that:

> Character building be discharged through a clearly understood, continuously pursued, universal program pervading every curricular and extra-curricular activity in the public school system from the beginning of elementary to the close of secondary education.[12]

Such a programme was to be effected "incidentally" rather than through a course of study. Likewise, religious teaching designed to promote the "acquisition of information and respect for all religions" was to be achieved through" a program of incidental teaching and study, not through a formal syllabus."[13] An optional course on the principal religions of the world would be offered in high school grades by members of the history department.

The Ontario Legislature has not as yet acted upon the body of the MacKay recommendations (except that the course in world religions was authorized), and the 1944 law remains in effect. The report has, however, influenced the direction of moral and religious education in Ontario, most particularly, perhaps, in stimulating the interest in moral education which has characterized the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education in recent years. Wherever the new approach to moral education has been effected, the implications for the education of teachers have been manifest. If moral education is a developmental process in the way that Kohlberg and other theorists teach, then teachers-in-training need not only to master the concepts involved but also to be equipped to deal personally with pupils at the successive stages of their development.

The **MacKay Report** has not lacked criticism. The Ecumenical Study Commission on Religion in Public Education, composed of representatives from the major Protestant churches and from the Catholic Church, cites the report's rationalist assumptions about learning (which it believed to be out of date), its desire to avoid controversy at any cost, its failure to give a place to religion as a subject worthy of academic study in its own right, and most tellingly, the tendency of the report to be influenced by American values on the matter of moral and religious education. The report, according to the Commission, did not clearly enough perceive that it is impossible not to teach religion in the schools, since values are always being communicated. The Commission noted:

> **Religion is in fact already being taught**, it is not a question of whether or not religion will be taught. For example, if the teacher communicates that the greatest value in life is "success" in terms of prestige, wealth or power — then a particular religious attitude, loosely called "the American way of life", has ben taught. So whether it is understood as religion by either the educator or the student, religion is an integral part of all teaching which interprets the meaning of life or its depth value. While children are not allowed to be introduced at school to the basic principles of the Christian Faith, they are being constantly indoctrinated in the Faiths of Secular Humanism and allied religions.[14]

4. **France's Neutral School System.** — The state schools of France take a neutral position with respect to religions; confessional education is given only in private schools, many of which, however, receive government financial support in various degrees. In normal schools and in state schools at all levels, religion is treated from an objective standpoint in social science and "civilization" courses. Moral education is, however, prominent among the aims of schooling. At the primary level, these aims have been described as:

> (a) First, to inculcate successfully the three fundamental means of expression: reading, writing and arithmetic. (b) Second, to arouse the natural curiosity of children about the world which surrounds them. (c) Lastly, to develop in them the sense of belonging to a community, as well as to make them aware of the values which determine its effectiveness and of the duties laid upon each of its members.[15]

Aims similar to the latter are included at each level of French state school education. Moral education is part of the study of civilization:

> Moral education includes a store of values accepted by the spiritual families of the world. These values must permeate all the educational activities of the school. Such education also includes a more personal facet, more intimate and delicate responsibility for which must fall upon the parents or upon the pupils themselves.[16]

Both Catholic and Protestant religious education under church auspices is permitted, however, after school hours.

Many French Protestants — understandably, perhaps, considering their historic minority position in France — strongly maintain the necessity of separating the spheres of church and state. The school is regarded as having a task to prepare persons to live in the world, the community of faith

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and the home have a responsibility for faith-nurture. This does not mean that French Protestants of the Reformed tradition hold to a pietism which denigrates the importance of the world and of the place of the Christian in it. Jacques Ellul, the French Protestant theologian, though perhaps representing a minority even among French Protestants, has presented with considerable logic a theological rationale for the support of secular schools by some modern Protestants:

> We are asked to have a share in all of the human life, in all of man's research, to build with men their works ... but the only standard for us to act by is that of God's pardon. And this pardon teaches us, much better than any historical considerations, the vanity and relativity of man's work, since everything depends on forgiveness ... With this in mind we are obviously able to put all our irony into the contemplation of man's efforts to build — but at the same time we participate in them.[17]

Such views have enabled many French Protestants to affirm the philosophy of the neutral state school and indeed, many names are found among the founders of the present French system.

But the French idea of public schooling is similar to the American in that the separation of church and state has been emphasized and it raises the same questions as to the effect of the separation of the moral and religious dimensions upon the actual values taught in the schools. Do the French state schools also promote a civil religion which in effect teaches that the state is the ultimate loyalty of the individual?

A great difference for the Protestant in the two systems is that while Americans can assume a culture permeated historically with Protestant ideals, France's cultural tradition is dominantly Catholic and rationalist. This fact rules out any possibility that the Bible might be taught in French neutral schools as a cultural necessity, and it explains, perhaps, the freedom with which French Protestants can separate faith and culture.

B. MORAL AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION PROGRAMMES IN QUEBEC PROTESTANT SCHOOLS: MAJOR ISSUES.

Moral and religious education in Quebec has learned from all the above patterns but copied none of them. Our study of the history of explicit moral and religious instruction in Protestant schools has shown that until 1968 the Bible (or Biblical extracts) was almost the only text-book used for this instruction, and that it has remained central since that time. The Bible was not employed to promote the particular beliefs of the Protestant denominations or even personal faith commitment (though some may have felt that the Bible spoke of these things without requiring interpretation) but was viewed as the source of general moral and religious principles. Various methods were used over the years to achieve moral education through the Bible: rote drill of Biblical passages; the presentation of the examples of Jesus and Biblical heroes; the use of the Bible as a source book to validate accepted values; and the creating of conditions wherein the Bible could speak its own moral and religious message through the literary and academic study of Biblical material. For some years, the argument for moral and religious education in the public schools was presented largely in terms of the need of Quebec Protestant children to understand and appropriate their cultural heritage which was felt to be impossible of full appreciation without reference to Biblical stories and ideas. Since 1968,[18] the objective study of religions and courses in ethics have also been encouraged, so that pupils have had a full range of opportunities to enable them to deal with questions as to the meaning and purpose of life and to establish moral principles as a result of reflection upon these issues.

The work of the Comité protestant and the Service de l'enseignement protestant continues to be directed towards fashioning in the schools a moral and religious education which takes seriously its heritage from the past while receiving the light of contemporary understanding about human development and the principles of learning. The broad principles controlling the policies of the Comité and the directions for the future indicated by these principles may be enumerated thus:

1. Moral and religious education takes place in many different forms. The pursuit of excellence in education would seem to require that the various methods presently employed should be identified, evaluated, revised where needed, and made an intentional part of the programme of the schools.

2. Wherever schooling takes place some system of values is operative. Education would be benefited, it is believed, if these values were clarified, and the desired value-aims stated among the objectives of education in the school.

3. The Protestant school in Quebec receives its identity, even today, from value ideals which derive from a Protestant culture. These should be treated as normative, but not as dogmatic or narrowly exclusive, in a Protestant school. Protestant schools may be enriched educationally by their pluralist constituency.

4. The moral and religious dimensions of education are fundamentally inseparable, since moral codes derive from interpretations of the meaning of life, the prime "religious" question of the human race. The Protestant school ought to treat the inter-relatedness of the moral and religious rather than attempting to artificially sever the two.

5. Given our present assumptions about the nature of schooling, explicit programmes in moral and religious education are necessary. These must, therefore, form part of the stated curriculum of all Protestant schools. Such programmes should treat religious stories, ideas, practices, history, and claims to truth from an "objective" point of view, as far as possible.

Each of these principles and related future directions will receive further elaboration in the sections to follow.

1. **The Forms of Moral and Religious Education: The Need for Intentionality.** — Education in values takes place in many different ways in the child's education. These include:

A. The enforcement of the **desired standards of behaviour** through the use of mechanisms of approval and disapproval. Acceptable social habits, manners, and attitudes are thus learned. Raymond Jensen of the Service de l'Enseignement protestant has pointed out that "the discipline required and applied by teachers and principals in our schools ... is ... a major source of learning in the realm of justice."

B. The **stimulation of ideals** through learning about heroes and heroines, living or dead, and through the study of literature, history, etc. The teacher, too, whether willingly or not, has an inevitable role as model of behaviour and ideals for many pupils. A model might be rejected or accepted on a given occasion but is influential nevertheless. Peers may also serve as powerful models at certain stages of the child's development.

C. The **development of attitudes**, has an integral connection with the psychological "health" of the person, and with the climate of the environment in the home, school, and community. Attitudes of self-respect, self-confidence, openness, and the ability to learn new things usually develop when there is an appropriate mixture of freedom and security given the growing person in terms of his or her developmental needs. Authoritarian environments are oriented toward encouraging blind obedience, conformity, dependence and self-distrust; overly-permissive environments may develop disrespect for authority, lack of self-discipline and minimal responsibility to others.

D. The **fostering of inner direction** through self-understanding. The ability to direct the self on the basis of recognized, accepted principles of value requires the capacity to evaluate one's own behaviour and person as objectively as possible. The development of insights into the motives for one's own behaviour and an understanding of personal inner psycho-dynamics assist this process. This may be cultivated by value-clarification exercises and by honest interchange in social groups. The teacher requires self-understanding and a knowledge of the limits appropriate to such education.

E. The **ability to reason from inner principles** which may be strengthened by the discussion of ethical dilemmas and through consciously making use of logical processes in thinking and in decision-making. All such reasoning should exist in a context which does not over-exalt the power of the reason to effect answers and which accepts the pervasiveness and potential creative nature of doubt, the irrational, the exceptional, the "hunch," and the importance of the affective dimension of life.

F. The **provision of information resources** which are always needed to broaden the ground upon which decisions are made and wise judgements effected.

In a Protestant school all these processes receive their content from the assumption of particular and identifiable standards of behaviour, ideals, cultural resources, and visions of the ultimate meaning and purpose of life. These processes can only benefit from being recognized openly as part of the school programme, and from means being created for evaluating the success of the methods employed.

2. **Every School Teaches Values: the Need for Explicitness.** — The policy of the Comité protestant is to encourage the school to clarify the values on which it operates and which it teaches, so that parents, pupils, teachers, and commissioners are clear about the school's goals. Such a clarification is the work not only of the school but of the community which the school serves. Just as the child comes to school with certain values already shaped so the school as a whole, and each teacher and textbook, either explicitly or implicitly communicates some value commitment, based on assumptions about the meaning of existence. There is no value-free person and there is no value-free school. But it matters greatly to almost everybody what values are being taught. Nobody really believes that one value is as good as another ultimately or that everyone should be permitted at all times to "do his own thing." That would be socially irresponsible. Protestants who consult their deepest principles would probably agree that there should be no dogmatism since all human knowledge is partial; but any religious or philosophical commitment is based on certain positive beliefs which, when affirmed, exclude certain others. To hide or obscure these assumptions is dishonest or cynical. The Conseil supérieur de l'éducation has recognized this need for explicitness:

> An implicit philosophy of education and of the student is always latent in the planning of a pedagogical organization... It does not fail to exercise a profound influence on teachers' behaviour, or formative operations, and finally, on student personality. The educative system has nothing to gain from letting this philosophy remain implicit and exercising its action beneath the surface.[20]

Clarification of the values assumed in schools is needed not just once or occasionally but as a continuing process if schooling is to have a quality control based on a consensus arrived at after research, reflection, discussion, and the necessary compromises. But how is this to be effected? Who, for example, has the responsibility to set such a process in motion? Teachers? Parents? Students? Administrators? School Boards? The Comité protestant? The government? Surely it can begin on the initiative of any of these or all working co-operatively. Parents, in the tradition of Protestant schooling, have a fundamental authority over the education of their children; but great, too, is that of the school board to whom parents have entrusted part of their responsibility; teachers and administrators will have a concern for the coherence and clarity of the system of values communicated in the school; the government, in a democratic state, has the responsibility of providing opportunities for the healthy development of all individuals and society as a whole. The **Green Paper** and the **Plan d'action** of the Québec government have reasserted the importance of parents' committees and school committees in evaluating schools' programmes and in determining their future direction. The **Green Paper** called for the continuous discussion, by all concerned, of the ultimate objectives of education, which will probably reflect a meshing of "timeless" values and those related particularly to present needs.

> One might say that education has certain timeless characteristics. It always atempts to form, inform, elevate the mind and broaden it and make it grow... However, education is also, to some extent, an "ecological" phenomenon, closely linked to a place, to a moment in time, to a socio-historical climate.[21]

Some believe that the values communicated in our schools are simply the reflection of the biases of the most powerful economic and social groups in the surrounding society. This may be so. It still helps to clarify these values so that a measure of objectivity may be obtained and some control asserted.

But Protestants will surely not be happy if their schools reflect only the values projected by passing fads, by superficial opinion, or by the requirements of special interest groups. Protestant education will consult its own genius as represented in its fundamental principles and in its history as well as current needs and realities, and out of the interplay of these, make its resolutions with respect to the ideals to be affirmed and the goals to be pursued. There may be great differences of opinion among those who engage in such a discussion. There will certainly not be easy or neat answers. But is not this kind of searching precisely what Protestant education is all about?

3. **Toward New Forms of Old Truths: The Need for Imagination.** —We have noted in these pages[22] the traditional values associated with Protestant education. Some of these are so close to basic beliefs that they will surely find a place in any new formulation of the values and goals for Protestant schools. But it is not in the nature of the Protestant spirit to insist, simply on the basis of tradition that particular value-ideals be retained from age to age. Rather, it is believed that each new generation must call upon those beliefs about the meaning and purpose of existence which are the living source of all values, and that new and creative patterns of ideals, suitable to present and future tasks, will emerge from that engagement. The God of the future, Protestants believe, is the same God who spoke in the past, and His truth does not change. However, the human perception of that truth does vary somewhat from generation to generation.

Our contemporary society, which displays a loss of power of older ideals with a resultant confusion in values must be considered as passing through a transition to a new post-industrial age, in which new virtues will be called upon to represent basic meanings. Those responsible for Protestant education will be called upon to bend their imaginations to the envisioning of the character patterns, individual and social, which will be required of citizens of the coming century. That work is already beginning in some quarters. Much is being said about the need of "critical awareness within the student to enable him/her to perceive and evaluate the values being promoted by our culture"[23] and of values which honour our awakened ecological sensitivities. Certainly, the growing consciousness of the interdependence of social and economic systems, and of individuals and collectivities, points to an emphasis on those values which exalt human self-awareness, sensitivity to the needs and rights of others, and a greater appreciation of our affiliative qualities as persons.[24]

Whatever the future may require, Protestants will probably regard as fundamental to education such experiences as the sense of wonder and humility before the mystery of creation; the perception that truth transcends every expression of it; the freedom to explore and pursue one's destiny in the light of God's contemporary will; the apprehension of the importance and dignity of law; the fun of learning new things; and the exhilaration of imagining better ways. The final validation of Protestant education in Quebec rests, of course, with parents. It will continue to exist only if enough parents desire it for their children.

4. **The Relation of Moral and Religious Education: The Need for Wholeness.** — Moral learning, as we have noted, has many aspects: habit formation, modelling, the development of principles, the power to make decisions, etc. These are all necessary. But it is important not to equate that moral behaviour which is trained or conditioned with that which is the result of purposeful decision. Capacity for the latter denotes the mature person. The habit of virtue might succeed in cloaking an individual with a socially acceptable facade; but it does not necessarily indicate that inner resources are present by which he or she is helped to make independent judgements, to withstand the tensions produced by ambiguous situations, and to deal successfully with the conflict between actual and ideal personal behaviour. What is required is education which helps the person find moral principles which can become guides for the making of judgments amidst the ever-variable conditions which life presents.

Models of moral development are often based today on the research in cognition done by Jean Piaget. In these models, learning is seen as directed toward fitting persons to make moral judgments. The developing person is deemed to pass through a series of sequentially invariant stages, each dependent upon the previous stage, but not necessarily in a synchronization with chronological age. An interesting feature of such theories is the belief that individuals are particularly helped to develop by interaction with persons whose cognitive stage is immediately beyond their own.

Lawrence Kohlberg, whose model for understanding the development of moral reasoning has won wide interest and some acceptance in North America, believes that the developing person moves through stages, which, moving from lower to higher levels of maturity, are marked by (a) obedience, for fear of punishment, to the will of parental authority, (b) an emphasis upon reciprocal "fair play" relationships, (c) the need to please others for the sake of acceptance, (d) the espousal of a "law and order morality," (e) legalistic contractual conceptions of the moral code, (f) an "orientation not only to actually ordained social rules but to principles of choice, involving appeal to logical universality and consistency."[75] Kohlberg holds that these stages are comprehended within three discernible levels of understanding, according to the bases on which moral judgments are made. These are (1) the preconventional level, in which "moral value resides in external, quasi-physical happenings, in bad acts, or in quasi-physical needs rather than in persons and standards"; (2) the conventional level, in which "moral value resides in performing good or right roles, in maintaining the conventional order and the expectancies of others; and (3) the post-conventional level, in which "moral value resides in conformity by the self to shared or shareable standards, rights, or duties."[76] The individual moves through these levels and stages as appropriate motivation is provided: for example, as the learner is "faced with situational anecdotes and realistic accounts involving genuine moral conflicts which he will be prepared to discuss and resolve."[77]

Kohlberg's theory of the development of moral thinking assumes the belief (which some would call religious) that justice is a normative value for human life:

> The school is no more committed to value neutrality than is the government or the law. The school, like the government, is an institution with a basic function of maintaining and transmitting some, but not all, of the consensual values of society. The most fundamental values of a society are termed moral values, and the major moral values, at least in our society, are the values of justice... The problems as to the legitimacy of moral education in the public schools disappear, then, if the proper content of moral education is recognized to be the values of justice which themselves prohibit the imposition of beliefs of one group upon another.[78]

James Fowler, who has constructed a model (based on Piaget, akin to Kolhberg's stages, and tentatively verified in research) of the development of the cognitive-affective structures related to religious faith, goes further than Kohlberg in asserting a definite link between moral development and religious belief:

> Every moral perspective, at whatever level of development, is anchored in a broader system of beliefs and loyalties. Every principle of moral action serves some center or centers of value. Even the appeals to autonomy, rationality, and universality... are not made **prior** to faith. Rather they are expressions of faith-expressions of trust in and loyalty to the valued attributes of autonomy and relationality, and to the valued ideal of a universal commonwealth of being... Our research and my observations of children lead me to the belief that one of the prime actors determining eventual development into and beyond conventional moral reasoning will be found to be the child's constructive appropriation of an ethos in which being "good" is a shared, articulated and consistently embodied value.[79]

If this is true, the school can hardly develop a coherent plan of moral education without taking into account the rootage of all moral values in the religio-cultural level of beliefs, attitudes, myths, symbols, and philosophical world views which express commitments to particular understandings of the meaning of life. Nor is the intimate relation between the values by which persons live and the religious beliefs they espouse manifest only at the level of logical reasoning. The imagination apprehends truths which are not available to logic and uses forms such as music, the visual arts and literature to communicate them. In this realm, distinctions between the moral and the religious are transcended. The Rioux Commission's report on the teaching of the arts in Quebec maintained in 1969 that it is precisely in this realm of the cultivation of the imagination that education has its most important task. The Commission argued:

> Today, the primary problem of our societies is to construct a basic culture on which the secondary culture can feed. Consequently, our major concern should be to turn...towards that universe of symbols, feelings, values, and meanings without which art and science, no longer able to nourish themselves on the human soul, must become nothing more than the servant of technology. This constitutes the most pressing problem of our contemporary societies.[30]

Rather than labouring to artificially separate the moral and religious realms, as is so often done, should not schools, for the sake of honesty as well as of efficiency, treat values and religious beliefs in their interconnectedness? The policy of the Comité protestant with respect to the moral and religious dimension of education in Protestant schools assumes that the moral and religious cannot be treated as autonomous realms.

4. **Courses in Moral and Religious Education: The Need for Seriousness.** — Academic programmes in public schools usually comprise a number of "subjects" for which provision must be made in the curriculum. This practice corresponds to the universities' treatment of knowledge in terms of discrete "discipline" or fields of inquiry each with its distinctive data, types of thinking, and methodology.

Religion is regarded by most universities to-day as a legitimate field for objective inquiry. Like history, mathematics or chemistry it explores reality in terms of its own inner logic employing the language symbols and methods of research proper to itself. The focus of inquiry is upon religious phenomena in all aspects — historical, psychological, sociological, philosophical, etc. This "academic" study of religion is distinguished from the study of Church theology or "divinity" which approaches its task from an intentionnally "committed" stance.

The Religious Studies programmes in universities provide a model and inspiration for moral and religious instruction in the Protestant schools of Quebec. Why should not students engage in religious inquiry of an academic nature at a level appropriate to their development? In high schools, courses may be given in the beliefs, practices, literature and history of religions as a way of demonstrating the universality of the quest for ultimate meaning and an introduction to the issues that have concerned religions. At the elementary level a less academic (but not necessarily uncritical) approach to religious studies may be maintained. The imagination of children may be fed by stories from religious literature or with religious meanings; much learning might take place also in connection with the school's observance of religious, cultural, and national days of importance to children. Since it is a basic object of Protestant education that children learn to respect persons holding beliefs quite different from their own and, indeed, to appreciate and learn from those beliefs, it would be important that dialogue be encouraged and that no particular religious tenet be asserted as normative for all. The Bible would be studied at both the elementary and secondary levels not as a way of imposing what is to be believed but as literature important to Christians and Jews, and a legitimate field of objective study. Courses on ethical ideas, discussion of moral dilemmas, and values clarification may also be treated objectively in specially designed course programmes.

Failure to provide students with opportunity for the study of ethics and religion must deprive them of what they should expect of education in the twentieth century with its questing for new ways of understanding the human condition and of finding directions for the future. To assign the subject to incidental teaching in connection with other subjects robs it of its importance as a subject as vital to life as mathematics or literature. While it must be recognized that there is a very important dimension of moral and religious education which cannot be imparted through course methods, it is also true that systematic study of the data of the subject and reflection upon it can be provided only by intentional and thorough study. Also bearing on the case is the fact that teachers and students, particularly in secondary schools, often feel under pressure to give priority to subjects which are to be examined formally. More subtle educational aims are ever in danger of neglect! Given our present pedagogical structures and assumptions, it would seem to be necessary to make formal provision for moral and religious education in the curriculum if pupils are to be guaranteed an opportunity to receive such education. Marshall McLuhan has taught: "The medium is the message". A school may transmit to its pupils a message which implies that moral and religious concerns are not fit subjects for treatment in the public school (too un-important? to difficult? too personal? too divisive?). Or it may declare through providing for moral and religious education on the curriculum that the matters covered there (controversial, personal, difficult or divisive though they may be), are important, exciting, and open to discussion, and are designed to help individuals to understand, accept and learn from their differences, and to reach together toward the fundamental truths and questions beyond their divisions.

C. CRITICISMS OF POLICIES FOR MORAL AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

Criticisms of the moral and religious education policies described above may be made from diverse points of view, religious and secular. Some religionists ask whether the emphasis upon objectivity does not work against the interests of religious parents by instilling doubts in children's minds about the validity of their parents' beliefs. Does not such a programme imply that all or many belief-options are equally valid and that one may make a choice in much the same way as one chooses breakfast cereal at the local supermarket? Some religious persons find support in such arguments for their belief that religious education cannot be taught in the Protestant public schools as now constituted and therefore should not be attempted.

But surely there is no question as to whether moral and religious education is given in the schools or not. The subject is always being taught through the assumptions, attitudes and priorities that are manifest there. Conflicting messages are also, inevitably, delivered. The most doctrinaire of school educations cannot guarantee that pupils will not be exposed to diverse interpretations of truth since these will come through both teachers and other pupils, as well as by way of the television screen and the child's playmates.

Indeed one may legitimately question the validity of an examined and untested religion. Can naive or over-protected faith withstand the toils of adult living? Does not an individual chained to rigid mental images valid only for a elementary stage of conceptualization easily become fearful, defensive and bitter when confronted with experiences which contradict his or her assumptions? Does not mature faith freely admit doubt, even value it as a Word of God directed to breaking up archaic images of the truth, and absorb it in its commitment to a profounder and more expansive ultimate meaning.

Surely the school is charged with the responsibility of continually asking for deeper evaluations of perceived truth. Indeed, must not the young be helped to ask questions of the "religions" of secularism, materialism, and hedonism, as well as of those "faiths" more generally labelled as religious. Is not the search for truth one of the fundamental aims of the Protestant school?

It should be reiterated, however, that the method and content of religious education are not the same for all levels of schooling. Small children will require help in developing their appreciation of religious literature, customs, and beliefs, and in expressing their own religious insights, while older pupils will be helped to reflect on their faith, evaluate it, and to search more deeply.

Questions about appropriateness of programmes in moral and religious education in the public schools continue to be asked also by persons taking an ultra-secularist position. Even the Birmingham Agreed Syllabus has been criticized on the grounds that it is biased in favour of religion and establishes religious indoctrination.[illegible] But, given the objective stance and purpose of this syllabus, is such a charge fair? Would not the alternative (no study of religion) constitute an implicit indoctrination into the view that religion is not worthy of consideration? The latter is a "committed" or "religious" position itself. Is it not more reasonable to have both the "religious" and "non-religious" options (if one insists on using the word religious in a narrow sense) open to questions and examination?

An American writer, supporting the secular position, has written that public school education should be completely non-religious because "secular things or events are within the bounds of time and space, they can be examined empirically and statements about them can be tested to determine their probable truth or falsity. Non-secular things or events cannot be so treated."[12] Such an argument limits the definition of "true" only to that which is scientifically examinable. But while the popular mind often tends to give superficial credibility to this position, its practice has been very different, as the current intense search after religious meanings and the proliferation of cults reveal. Scientific minds of a higher order often confess the limits of scientific method in eliciting truth. Albert Einstein associated the quest for truth with an impulse he called "religious": "I assert that the cosmic religious experience is the strongest and noblest driving force behind scientific research... the only deeply religious people of our largely materialistic age are the earnest men of research."[13] Yet Einstein put strict limits upon the capacity of the individual to achieve the deepest truths through the way of sensation alone: "The mind can proceed only so far upon what it knows and can prove. There comes a point where the mind takes a higher plane of knowledge, but can never prove how it got there. All great discoveries have involved such a leap."[14] It must also be said that an increasing number of intelligent people today believe that the twentieth-century problems of depersonalization and alienation are, in part at least, derived from a naive and "religious" devotion of our present culture to a scientific method, which ignores some of the deepest and most universal perceptions of the past about the meaning of life and the nature of knowledge. Wilfred Cantwell Smith, for example, has written:

> We are faced with problems much deeper than objective science is competent to pronounce upon; problems that require much more exacting rationality and self-criticism than we have invested in the technical and scientific sub-sector of our human adventure. As a servant, science can be illuminating; as a master it darkens our lives. So far as men and women are concerned it is profoundly irrational.[15]

The dogmatically secularist position is thus a sectarian one and should be treated as but one more point of view.

But there are still more pertinent questions to be asked about the "objective" approach to the study of religion. Can study "about" religion teach students anything very significant about particular religions or the religious quest in general? Is not the religious truth, almost by definition, tied to the subjectivity of the believer? Raimundo Panikkar, for instance, has argued forcibly against the adequacy of a purely phenomenological treatment of religion:

> The consequence of... apparent neutrality is that one ends up with a fundamental misconstruing of the very core of religious belief. This

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XIV **Interviews:**

Joan Dougherty	Chairman of the P.S.B.G.M. Former member of the Comité protestant.
John Gilmour	Principal of Ecole de Roberval. Former member of the Comité protestant.
Harry Kuntz	Secretary of the Comité protestant.
Raymond Jensen	Director, Service de l'enseignement protestant.
Sheila McDonough	Professor of Religion, Concordia University. Former member of the Comité protestant.
Constance Middleton-Hope	Secrétaire générale, Commission scolaire Lakeshore. Former member of the Comité protestant and vice-president of the Conseil supérieur de d'éducation.

William Munroe	Directeur général adjoint, P.S.B.G.M., Chairman of the Comité protestant, 1972-1975.

A number of graduates of Montreal schools, 1950-1970.

Discussions with the Comité protestant and the Research Sub-Committee of the Comité protestant.

Informal conversations with parents, teachers and an elementary school principal.

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